

# The Public Opinion Quarterly

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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THE purpose of THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY is to contribute to the study of the nature and working of public opinion in the contemporary world. Editorial policy has no other goal. The cooperation of the editors rests only upon a common desire to support this scholarly purpose. The editors believe that they can best achieve what they have in view by an open-minded hospitality to contributions of many kinds—analyses by disinterested scholars of problems and situations, along with expositions and arguments, perhaps *ex parte*, by direct participants in problems and situations. In the case of each article attention is expressly called by an editorial foreword to the relation of the writer to the activity which he reports or evaluates. The editors hold varying opinions on public questions and they accept no responsibility for the views expressed by contributors. They do accept responsibility for selecting contributions which will in one way or another promote the study and understanding of public opinion and of adding these contributions to the store of data at the disposal of scholars and business and professional workers.

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# THE LOST FILES OF THE CREEL COMMITTEE OF 1917-19

By CEDRIC LARSON and JAMES R. MOCK

In the January 1937 issue of the *QUARTERLY*, Mr. Larson reported discovery, in the basement of an old War Department building in Washington, of the files of the Committee on Public Information, the largest and most effective propaganda agency ever established in this country. This rich store of material had lain untouched for twenty years, its whereabouts unknown to the Library of Congress and the many scholars for whom it holds extraordinary interest. Mr. Larson immediately commenced examination of these documents, and he and Dr. Mock are now engaged upon a book-length study dealing with them. The present article gives first publication of material from the "lost" files.

Mr. Larson, a frequent contributor to the *QUARTERLY*, is a graduate of Stanford University, where his work was partly under the direction of Dr. Ralph H. Lutz of the Hoover War Library. For the past two years he has been a member of the Library of Congress staff. Dr. Mock received the Ph.D. degree of the University of Wisconsin in 1930 and, after seven years as Professor of History at Findlay College, joined the executive staff of the National Archives as Historical Classifier, Division of Classification. In the present investigation Mr. Larson has been chiefly concerned with manuscript materials in the CPI files, Dr. Mock with relevant materials in the Library of Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Although almost two decades have elapsed since Congress legislated the Committee on Public Information out of existence on June 30, 1919, no exhaustive study of the work of this wartime agency under the chairmanship of George Creel has been made, aside from the *Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information* and *How We Advertised America*, both from the pen of the chairman, and both published in 1920.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The authors wish to acknowledge the help arising from personal interviews with Mr. George Creel and the Hon. Josephus Daniels, and correspondence with Mr. Carl Byoir of New York City, with reference to this study. They are also greatly indebted to Dr. Philip M. Hamer, Chief of the Division of Reference, to Dr. Frank H. Allen of the Division of Classification, and Mr. Jesse S. Douglas of the Division of War Department—all of the National Archives.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Report of the Chairman of the [U.S.] Committee on Public Information 1917: 1918:1919* (Washington, 1920); George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York, 1920); for a brief résumé of the work of the CPI see Waldo G. Leland and Newton D. Mereness, *Introduction to the American Official Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 429-38.

As foreseen in the first issue of *THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY*,<sup>3</sup> with the establishment of the National Archives in Washington, the correspondence and office records of the Committee on Public Information have at length found their way into the custody of this institution (along with a huge amount of other material in the nature of war records of the 1917-19 period). They are now in process of being made generally available for purposes of scholarship. This vast amount of documentary source material now housed in the National Archives shows the behind-the-scenes operation of the Wilson war machine, and in the future will have to be consulted before any definitive account can be written on any phase of American participation in the late war. The total extent of the CPI records in the National Archives approximates 180 cubic feet.<sup>4</sup> These records comprise incoming and outgoing correspondence, account books, statistical reports, confidential memoranda, photographs, posters, mailing lists, card records and the like.

As is well known, after the outbreak of the European War in the summer of 1914, there had been a concerted campaign by the Central Powers and the Allies to win the support of the American public opinion through the press. The part played by Crewe House and Lord Northcliffe<sup>5</sup> and the *Maison de la Presse* are well known to students of the World War. Through control of the cables, and such governmentally inspired news agencies as Reuters and Havas, the British and the French possessed from the outset a distinct advantage in their efforts to enlist American sympathies.

Following the American declaration of war on April 6, 1917, perhaps the greatest single task facing President Wilson was to achieve a complete national solidarity in support of the "Peoples' War"<sup>6</sup> as he called it. To gain this objective, he realized from the outset that full cooperation of the entire American press was essential. The two-century tradition of freedom of the press, embodied

<sup>3</sup> *PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 116-19.

<sup>4</sup> This amount is comparatively small as against two other wartime agencies whose records are now in the National Archives: Veterans Administration and Food Administration with 34,000 and 17,000 cubic feet, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> See Sir Campbell Stuart, *Secrets of Crewe House* (London, 1920).

<sup>6</sup> Used by the President in *Flag Day Address*, June 14, 1917.

in the First Amendment, rendered the whole problem of censorship even in wartime a delicate one. As evidence of this were the repeated attempts fruitlessly made by Administration forces to write a stringent and comprehensive censorship law into the Espionage Act.

On April 13, 1917 (a week after the declaration of war) the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, apprehensive lest "premature or ill-advised announcements of policies, plans, and specific activities, whether innocent or otherwise, would constitute a source of danger," sent a joint letter to the President, recommending the creation of a government committee to supervise war publicity. This body, which was termed in the letter a "Committee on Public Information," was to have as its goal the fostering among the people of "the feeling of partnership that comes with full, frank statements concerning the conduct of the public business." Its twofold functions were to be "censorship and publicity." They recommended a civilian chairman "preferably some writer of proved courage, ability, and vision, able to gain the understanding cooperation of the press and at the same time rally the authors of the country to a work of service." The writers suggested that they should themselves constitute the other members of the committee. The letter concluded:

The committee, upon appointment, can proceed to the framing of regulations and the creation of machinery that will safeguard all information of value to an enemy, and at the same time open every department of government to the inspection of the people as far as possible. Such regulations and such machinery will, of course, be submitted for your approval before becoming effective.<sup>7</sup>

George Sylvester Viereck suggests the President's partiality for the 13th as an auspicious date, speaking of "his [Wilson's] lucky day, Friday the 13th"<sup>8</sup> and it is interesting to note, in line with Viereck's theory, that the initial official step thus taken toward the establishment of the CPI was on Friday, April 13, 1917.

<sup>7</sup> *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1 (May 10, 1917), p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> George Sylvester Viereck, *The Strangest Friendship in History* (New York, 1932), pp. 239 ff.

The day following, the President through Executive Order No. 2594 (dated April 13, 1917) instituted the CPI along the manner recommended. George Creel was appointed civilian chairman. There is virtually nothing at all on record regarding the choice of Mr. Creel by the President as chairman of the CPI, and Mr. Creel himself has courteously supplied this part of the narrative:<sup>9</sup>

As editor of the *Rocky Mountain News* in Denver, I advocated Woodrow Wilson's nomination as early as 1911, and had correspondence with him throughout his first administration. Going to New York in 1913, I played a rather important part in the 1916 campaign, contributing syndicated articles to the press and also publishing *Wilson and the Issues*. After the election he asked me to come to Washington as a member of his official family, but my finances would not permit acceptance of the offer. When we entered the war on April 6, 1917, and the papers carried the news that some rigid form of censorship would be adopted, I wrote a letter of protest to the President in which I explained to him that the need was for expression not repression, and urged a campaign that would carry our war aims and peace terms not only to the United States, but to every neutral country, and also into England, France, and Italy. As for censorship, I insisted that all proper needs could be met by some voluntary methods. He sent for me and after approving my proposal, drafted me to act as active chairman. No other person was considered for the place.

The creation of this, the first formal government committee to supervise the publication of news in American history, was given wide publicity in the press. Much of the initial comment was hostile in nature, some of it was friendly. The *Sunday Star*, Washington, D.C., April 15, 1917, devoted the entire seventh column of the front page to this new Committee, under the headlines:

#### PRESIDENT NAMES CENSORSHIP CHIEF

Under the paragraph subheading "Strongly Progressive Man" the chairman of the CPI was thus characterized:

Mr. Creel is described by his friends as a man of great force of character. He is a Missourian, about forty years of age, and has been a frequent contributor to the leading magazines. He is also described as a man of strongly progressive type who was formerly an active news-

<sup>9</sup> George Creel, San Francisco, to Cedric Larson, Washington, D.C., July 18, 1938.



paperman in Denver and elsewhere, and was director of public safety in the Colorado city, at a time when he instituted reforms in penal institutions in that state. He once conducted a weekly newspaper [*Independent*] in Kansas City. During the last political campaign he did what was regarded by the democrats as effective publicity work for the national committee in connection with obtaining interviews with noted men in support of the democratic party and candidates. Mr. Creel's wife is the actress, Blanche Bates.

The *New York Times* was very critical at first of the appointment, and of the CPI.<sup>10</sup> By and large, aside from occasional outbursts in the editorial columns, the press grew tolerant of the new organization. In retrospect, *Everybody's Magazine* in 1919 thus commented about the general attitude toward the chairman of the CPI:

From the very moment of his appointment Creel became the object of severe attack. This was nothing new to George Creel. In all his public career, neutrality toward him has been the one impossible attitude. To some he was a fearless crusader, untamed, untamable. To others he was the obnoxious muckraker, with a record of spectacular conflicts in print and in public office. Creel is a man who always attracts bitter enmities and wins ardent support. But in the gigantic new task, so far as the public could discern, his enemies far exceeded his friends. . . .

For the most part, Creel has been looked upon as *The Censor*, and as such, he has been damned by a large portion of the press, and distrusted by a certain portion of the public. For the first year his removal was demanded almost daily; first for one cause and then another.

But the war went on—and so did George Creel.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. Creel's political faith was Democratic and his book *Wilson and the Issues*, written to aid President Wilson in his 1916 reelection campaign was a volume "which had mightily pleased Wilson," according to James Kerney, editor and publisher of the *Trenton Evening Times*.<sup>12</sup> Chapter 7 of this book entitled: "The Case of Josephus Daniels," is a 23-page defense of the Secretary of the Navy. Besides enjoying the friendship of these two men, Mrs.

<sup>10</sup> See *New York Times* editorial pages for April 16, May 12, May 30, 1917.

<sup>11</sup> "Creel: An Announcement," in *Everybody's Magazine*, XL, 1 (January 1919), p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1926), p. 409.

Creel was said to be "a warm personal friend of Miss Margaret Wilson."<sup>13</sup>

Concerning the early work of the Committee and its policies, the Hon. Josephus Daniels writes as follows:

When we entered the World War the President, Mr. Baker and I, particularly—all the members of the Cabinet also agreeing, were very anxious that we should not fall into the stupid censorship which had marked the action of some countries in dealing with war news. Immediately upon our entrance into the war I called in all the newspapermen in Washington, and particularly the representatives of the press associations, and told them that we would have no censorship but that the President and his Cabinet wished them and all newspapermen in America to impose self-censorship; that we would give them freely the information that would let them know what was going on and request them from time to time to publish nothing which might fall into the hands of the enemy or embarrass war operations. Ninety-nine per cent of them patriotically accepted this suggestion but we soon found that now and then the zeal for scoops outran patriotism. Determined to have no censorship and to give the public all information possible, we decided to establish the Committee on Public Information. No other name was suggested as the executive head of that committee except that of Mr. George Creel. The Committee was composed of Secretary Lansing, Secretary Baker, and myself. Lansing, I think, would have preferred a sort of censorship and never warmed up to Mr. Creel or to the work of the Committee. Baker, saying that I was a journalist by profession, largely turned over to me the work of the Committee, and never a week passed that I was not in consultation with Mr. Creel.

I had known Mr. Creel before. The President had for him a sincere friendship and delighted in his company and in his conversation; and in turn Mr. Creel was devoted to the President.<sup>14</sup>

The question before Congress of what legal safeguards should be thrown up to curb the press in wartime was a very thorny one. In the minds of most people the crux of the matter was voluntary or involuntary censorship. The original administration Espionage Act carried rather severe laws on censorship, but it met with such opposition, and seesawed back and forth between the Senate and the House until it was shorn of its more drastic provisions. When

<sup>13</sup> *New York Times*, April 15, 1917, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Josephus Daniels, Mexico, D.F., to Cedric Larson, Washington, D.C., dated June 30, 1938.



the Espionage Bill was finally enacted on June 15, 1917, the censorship features had been tempered down to the point where it meant they would be largely self-imposed. By the provisions of sections 31-36 of the Espionage Act, however, such offenses as unlawfully disclosing information affecting national defense or seditious or disloyal acts or words in time of war carried fines and imprisonment.<sup>15</sup> In almost all cases, the validity of these laws was upheld by Supreme Court decisions.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, obviously in flagrant or obstreperous cases, where voluntary censorship could not be secured, these laws could always be invoked by the government. Moreover, nearly all the individual States had parallel laws on their code books, which might offer the recourse of State action without resorting to the Federal law at all. There was no formal association of the press, on the other hand, for governing with strict rules of censorship. Virtually the entire American press voiced their distrust of a formal censorship bill, as the following excerpt from an editorial in the Washington, D.C., *Star* typifies:

If any censorship legislation is enacted at this time as part of a bill for the punishment of spies, it should require proof of criminal intent before conviction and of actual aid to the enemy as suggested in the House. And it should define and limit the scope of publications necessarily aiding the enemy as suggested in the Senate.

But the wisest disposition of the censorship proposition, for the present at least, is to cut it out entirely from the espionage legislation.<sup>17</sup>

As April and May of 1917 wore on, the organization of the CPI got under way. But before dealing with the structure of the Committee itself, the publicity policy which it outlined at length should be examined. Its first formal pronouncement here was its *Preliminary Statement to the Press of the United States*, released May 28, 1917. A few excerpts reveal its basic principles:

<sup>15</sup> *The Code of the Laws of the United States of America of a General and Permanent Character in Force January 3, 1935 . . .* (Washington, D.C., 1935), pp. 2260-1. (Title 50, Chapter 4, Sections 31-42.)

<sup>16</sup> See *United States Code Annotated: . . . Annotated from All the Cases Construing these Laws*, prepared by the editorial staffs of Edward Thompson Company and West Publishing Company, *Title 50 War* (St. Paul, 1928), pp. 14-51.

<sup>17</sup> *Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., May 14, 1917, p. 6, col. 2.

Public opinion is a factor in victory no less than ships and guns, and the creation and stimulation of a healthy, ardent national sentiment is the kind of fighting that the press can do. . . .

It is impossible to lay down in advance hard-and-fast rules. The experience of the press bureaus in belligerent countries in Europe has shown a need for constant amendment. All the European censors are now passing for publication news which at first they thought it advisable to stop. . . .

*The only news which we wish to keep from the authorities of Berlin is the kind which would be of tangible help to them in their military operations* [italics in original].

It will facilitate the work of the committee if a sharp distinction is made between three categories of news.

1. Matters which obviously must not be mentioned in print.
2. Matters of doubtful nature which should not be given publicity until submitted to and passed by the committee.
3. Matters which do not affect the conduct of the war, do not concern this committee and are governed only by peace-time laws of libel, defamation of character, etc.

In the first category were such items as ship and troop movements, location of mine fields, photographs of harbor defenses, and the like. Category 2 included such items as descriptions of army and navy units and their operations—permissible if scrutinized and approved by the authorities. The vast bulk of “copy” fell into the third class of matter disconnected with the war, and might be freely published.<sup>18</sup>

Each of the above categories was elaborated upon. For instance under the first division, threats or plots against the life of the President or other high government officials must not be published “unless announced from authoritative sources.” Further:

The Department of State considers it dangerous and of service to the enemy to discuss differences of opinion between the allies and difficulties with neutral . . . countries.

Speculation about possible peace is another topic which may possess elements of danger, as peace reports may be of enemy origin, put out to weaken the combination against Germany.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> CPI, *Preliminary Statement to the Press of the United States* (Washington 1917), pp. 4-7.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 11-13 ff.

Eighteen types of information came under the official taboo,<sup>20</sup> all generally comprehended by the preceding description. The *New York Times* chronicled the rules on page 1, column 1, under the headlines:<sup>21</sup>

CENSOR CREEL  
GIVES OUT RULES  
FOR NEWSPAPERS

Would Bar Speculation About  
Possible Peace, or Differ-  
ences of Opinion

WITH ALLIES OR NEUTRALS

In general, however, the voluntary method of censorship was accepted by the press tolerantly and, except for an occasional flare of criticism, all energies were bent on winning the war. Mr. Creel was close to the President and when members of Congress, or other interests wished to irk the Administration, "jumping on George" was one of the favorite expedients. They could thus worry the President without attacking him in the open.<sup>22</sup> There was no doubt about the CPI's command of great prestige and power. Two of its members, the Secretaries of Navy and War, were of that inner circle of high-ranking wartime government officials who constituted the so-called "Super War Cabinet or Council."<sup>23</sup> A member of Congress once complained on the floor of the legislative hall: "We have no direct jurisdiction over the Committee on Public Information."<sup>24</sup>

In order to understand the nature of the problems with which the CPI had to deal, it is necessary at this juncture to review in the briefest possible space the structure of the Committee itself. Units will be listed in the order in which they appeared in the final

<sup>20</sup> CPI, *Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information 1917: 1918:1919* (Washington, 1920), pp. 10-12. Most of the otherwise unspecified references in this article are to the *Complete Report*, frequently with parallel information in *How We Advertised America*.

<sup>21</sup> *New York Times*, May 28, 1917, p. 1, col. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Hon. Josephus Daniels, May 11, 1938.

<sup>23</sup> Josephus Daniels, *The Life of Woodrow Wilson, 1856-1924* (Philadelphia, 1924), p. 283.

<sup>24</sup> *Congressional Record*, 65th Congress, 2nd session, LVI, pt. 5, p. 4255.

official report of the Committee, which is not necessarily either chronological or in rank of their importance.

The Committee was eventually divided into two sections: the Domestic Section and the Foreign Section, the former with about fifteen and the latter with three subdivisions.

#### THE DOMESTIC SECTION

The division of news was undoubtedly the most important from the Committee's standpoint. It was the chief medium for issuing official war news for the Departments of War, Navy, Justice, Labor, the White House, National War Labor Board, Council of National Defense, War Industries Board, War Trade Board, and the Alien Property Custodian. The task of this division was very difficult. "On the one hand was the press, impatient of reticence and suspicious of concealments, and on the other hand were generals and admirals reared in a school of iron silence." Pershing communiqués, interviews with military, naval, and civil leaders, and casualty lists constituted the chief type of material handed out. A weekly digest of war news for country and weekly papers was later added. An estimated 20,000 columns of news per week was gained by mimeographed material alone. Articles were checked and rechecked for accuracy and Mr. Creel claims that while more than 6,000 releases were issued in the year and a half of operation, only three were ever questioned.

The division of civil and educational cooperation had for its aim the instruction of the public for entering the war and historical matter of an educational nature. Writers, educators, and translators volunteered their services. More than 75,000,000 pieces of literature were disseminated by the Committee.

The division of production and distribution looked after the direction of circulation for printed matter. The Boy Scouts of America, for example, distributed 5,000,000 copies of the President's Flag Day address, while other groups also cooperated.

The Four-Minute Men idea was presented to the CPI by Donald Ryerson of Chicago in June 1917. Under the plan as adopted, locally endorsed speakers would give a four-minute speech in

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behalf of the war aims at a theater or other meeting place. About 75,000 speakers reached an estimated total audience of more than 300,000,000 in this manner.

The speaking division, established in September 1917, acted as clearing-house for the various departments and agencies of the government wherein their speech-making activities were correlated, which eliminated such factors as competition for speakers, or duplication of effort. A card-file was maintained.

The division of pictorial publicity was headed by Charles Dana Gibson with headquarters in New York. Painters, illustrators, and cartoonists volunteered their services for poster-work, drawings and designs. War picture exhibits were also sponsored.

The division of advertising was created by executive order and its purpose was to enlist the cooperation of the advertisers of the nation in the prosecution of the war. The support of advertising clubs was also enjoyed. More than 800 publishers of monthly and weekly organs donated about \$160,000 worth of space each month for government use.

The film division supplied good pictures and films of the war and its activities. The photographic section of the Signal Corps produced a mass of war pictures, from both France and America, "possessed of the very highest propaganda value." More than 22 motion pictures were filmed and distributed at financial gain by this division, besides many one-reelers.

On May 10, 1917, the *Official Bulletin* was launched by the CPI as a daily publication "designed to inform the public on the progress of the war and of official acts incident to its prosecution." The subscription price was \$5.00 per year, but newspapers, post offices, public officials, and public agencies received it free. It commenced with an initial circulation of about 60,000, and its peak in August 1918 was 118,000. It was discontinued on March 31, 1919.

In March 1918 the service bureau was created by executive order. It was a public office situated in a central part of Washington to answer various questions concerning the war.

As its name implied, the division of exhibit at state fairs (formed in March 1918) functioned chiefly as the exhibitor of

material from the War and Navy Departments at state fairs. Some sixty such exhibits were held.

The division of women's war work was instituted in November 1917. Its aim was to push war aims by means of women's organizations, churches, and schools.

The cartoon bureau got under way in May 1918. Its chief function was publication of a weekly bulletin, mailed to 750 cartoonists, containing suggestions for cartoons.

The division of syndicate features drew upon the talents of novelists, writers, and professors for feature stories and articles on the war. Such men and women as Samuel Hopkins Adams, Ellis Parker Butler, Booth Tarkington and Mary Roberts Rinehart contributed their talents.

The division of business management was the headquarters unit assigned to keep account of funds, purchase supplies, take care of incoming and outgoing mail, and file of correspondence. Office routine consumed its chief energies.

The division of work with the foreign born was important in "holding fast the inner lines"—to use the President's phrase—and reach the immigrant. Special work was done with Poles, Germans, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Italians, Russian and lesser minorities.

#### THE FOREIGN SECTION

The wireless and cable service, *COMPUB* as it was known abroad, spread America's message systematically throughout the globe, from Singapore to Buenos Aires, Cape Town to Archangel. The Associated Press and United Press services cooperated in many countries in this phase of the work. A constant stream of information and war news was sent this way.

The mail feature service and foreign press bureau sent to other countries a constant stream of feature items and news stories explaining the American cause. Weekly letters by well-known writers were a part of this service. Foreign newspapers and magazines were furnished with photographs, cuts, and mats of the American military forces. Virtually every country in the world was reached.



# WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

FREE

NEWSPAPER CABLEGRAMS, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, W. R. A. STONE, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

Received at 16 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK

33W 337 MAR 20 18

WASHINGTON DC COLLECT DUE

POSTERITY

LONDON

MARCH 20 IN JOURNAL IN KANSAS CITY STAR ROOSEVELT  
IN NOT MAKING WAR ON TURKEY STOP ANGER OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST TO  
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE WAS ROOSEVELT SAYS QUOTE EXAMPLE OF FEAR AND STUDIED  
IMPETUOUSNESS STOP THERE WAS NO GRATITUDE NO APOLOGY FOR THEIR BETRAYAL  
OF AMERICA AND OF CAUSE OF LIBERTY AND NO EXPRESSION OF HOSTILITY TO  
THEIR GERMAN MASTERS BUT THERE WAS HEARTILINESS AND INVULNERABLE RESOLUTION  
FOR CLASS WAR IN AMERICA QUOTE STOP THERE IS NOW IN ROOSEVELT'S OPINION  
NO REASON FOR CONSIDERING THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST STATE AS ENEMIES

# WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

NEWSPAPER CABLEGRAMS, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, W. R. A. STONE, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

Received at 16 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK  
337 SHEET 2/33W POSTERITY LONDON

THEY ARE NOT DECLARING WAR ON  
TURKEY ROOSEVELT HOLDS GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN DERELICT IN ITS DUTY TO  
ARMENIANS TO CHRISTIANS OF SYRIA AND TO JEWS OF PALESTINE AND WAR TO RED  
SHOULD BE MADE AGAINST BOTH GERMANY AND TURKEY IN ORDER TO RESCUE FROM  
TYRANNY AND TO GIVE INDEPENDENCE TO UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE FROM BOLSHEVIST  
HAVE ABANDONED TO CRUEL FATE STOP IN FLAMING STATEMENT ISSUED TO FIELD  
THROUGH BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE BY SUPREME WAR COUNCIL OF ALLIES DEFINITIONS  
ARE STERT AWAY SAYS NEW YORK TRIBUNE IN DOUBLE LEADED LEADING ARTICLE STOP  
ASSERTING THAT TIME AND STRENGTH ARE WASTED ON THOUGHT OF VICTORY BY NEGOTIATION  
AND AFTER QUOTING SALIENT PORTIONS OF STATEMENT TRIBUNE SAYS THAT  
IS WHERE ALLIES STANDS AND ASKS WHERE DOES THIS COUNTRY

AN OUTGOING CABLE IS CENSORED

First Two Sheets of Message Referred to in Commander Baker's  
Letter to George Creel (see page 18)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

*Handwritten signature/initials*

In reply refer to  
Inf

September 8, 1919.

Dear George:

I return herewith your letter to MacBride and the other correspondence in connection with the Gaillaux Film. I agree with you that they have done a great deal in cutting out the objectionable feature of the film. Now that they have it finished I find myself wondering what they are going to do with it. The only good stuff was objectionable and I am afraid there is not much left. It was a 7,000 foot film, or thereabouts, and it seems to me that fully 2,000 feet must have been titles with all the fireworks illuminated. It seems to me that patrons of the Fox Film Company might be saved a lot of trouble if the Company would simply print the titles, give them to their customers and let it go at that.

Sincerely yours,

George Creel, Esquire,

Committee on Public Information,

10 Jackson Place,

Washington, D. C.

*Philip H. Patchin*

THE FATE OF "THE CAILLAUX CASE"

*Letter from Philip H. Patchin Commenting on the Changes Made in the  
Fox Moving Picture at the Direction of the CPI and under Pressure  
from French Representatives in This Country (see page 26)*



The film division of the domestic section expanded its activities to include the export of motion pictures abroad. South America, China, Russia and the European countries all received this service—some 24 nations were sent 6,200 reels of American war pictures.

Besides the *Official Bulletin*, and divisional periodicals, the CPI put out the "War Information Series" of twenty-one pamphlets and booklets on various phases of the struggle; the "Red, White and Blue Series" of a similar nature; and the "Loyalty Leaflets," seven in number. Some of this literature was translated into several languages.

Such was the huge machine which Mr. Creel headed, and which kept him extremely busy. "I am driven night and day by the demands of my work, . . ." Mr. Creel wrote in a letter dated April 10, 1918. Often he was severely attacked in Congress or in the press. Sometimes he made a spirited defense, at other times he ignored his traducers. After the CPI had been functioning for several months, he must have given the impression to the Central Powers that he had "out-Northcliffed" Northcliffe. For instance:

Creel war eine Kampfnatur von stürmischer Aktivität und schneller Entschlusskraft. . . . Creel "verkaufte" Amerika und der ganzen Welt den Krieg wie eine Ware, und zwar mit dem besten Erfolg. . . . Creel nahm etwa die Stellung eines Propagandaministers ein.<sup>25</sup>

Mr. Creel's *Kampfnatur* came to be roundly appreciated on both sides before the war was finished. Perhaps it took such an individual to hold 15,000 American newspapers in line.

#### DOCUMENTS FROM THE FILES

The files of the CPI reveal a rich variety of material, such as would better fill a book than the space of an article. Perhaps a few concrete examples will throw some new light on the behind-the-scenes operations of the CPI, and suggest the nature of the material now becoming available in Washington. All of these documents are in the National Archives under the classification CPI1-A1.

Correspondence between George Creel and Lt. Com. George Barr Baker sheds light on the CPI's methods and policy in dealing with both incoming and outgoing cables:

<sup>25</sup> Dr. Hans Thimme, *Weltkrieg ohne Waffen* (Stuttgart 1932), p. 28.

DEAR GEORGE:

Herewith is a copy of telegram [reproduced on insert] offered to-day by Low, from Washington to the POST in London. All that part surrounded by red has been cut out at my instance. The opening line "March 20 in editorial in Kansas City Star Roosevelt" was left to stand in order to connect up the little that we permitted to remain. Similar material is being deleted from any other cables that come through.

I feel very strongly that as the London papers quickly reach Switzerland and from there go into Germany, it would be very foolish to allow this sort of thing to leave the country, although probably a very good thing to print here.

I have brought up the subject with Rogers this morning of cables into this country regarding the Japanese situation in Siberia. The attached clippings [see below] are what I mean. It is a time-honored custom of imperialistic governments to prepare the public mind for the taking over of territory that does not belong to them. . . .

Sincerely yours,

[Signed: G. B. BAKER]

Lieut.-Commander, U.S.N.R.F.

(Enclosures)

*New York World*, March 20, 1918  
MANY JAPANESE IN SIBERIA  
BOYCOTTED AND ENDANGERED

London, March 19.—A Tokio despatch, dated Sunday, forwarded by the Exchange Telegraph correspondent at Peking, represents the plight of Japanese subjects in the disturbed zone in Eastern Siberia as serious.

Two thousand armed German prisoners enabled the Bolsheviki to defeat the non-Bolsheviki in the fight at Blagovieshchensk, capital of Amur Province, Siberia, last Tuesday, according to a semi-official statement issued in Tokio Sunday, and transmitted by Reuter's.

The report that 150 Japanese were murdered by the Bolsheviki has not been confirmed.

*New York Times*, March 20, 1918  
SIBERIAN JAPANESE IN PERIL

Plight of Those in Disturbed Zone Is Serious

London, March 19.—A Tokio despatch, dated Sunday, forwarded by the Exchange Telegraph correspondent at Peking, represents the plight of Japanese subjects in the disturbed zone in eastern Siberia as serious.

Their lives are in jeopardy and a boycott has been declared against them, it is asserted, while those who fall into the hands of the Maximalists are plundered or subjected to even worse treatment.

March 26, 1918

COMMANDER GEORGE BARR BAKER  
20 Broad Street  
New York, N.Y.

MY DEAR GEORGE:

I am glad indeed that you cut the Low matter as you did. Keep it up. I also agree heartily in the matter of these fakes that Japan is commencing to put out. Talk it over with Rogers, and see that they are killed hereafter unless absolutely authentic.

Sincerely,

[GEORGE CREEL]  
Chairman

Proscription and censorship of books is revealed in the following correspondence between Creel and George H. Doran, and also between Creel and Ernest J. Chambers, Chief Press Censor for Canada:

GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY  
PUBLISHERS  
244 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK

10 September 1918

*Private and Confidential*

GEORGE CREEL, Esq.

Committee on Public Information  
Washington

MY DEAR MR. CREEL:

There seem to be many with their fine tooth combs going over the literature of the country.

As you know, I have aimed to be violently pro-Ally and anti-german, during the entire period of the war. A book which we have recently published, called TEN MONTHS IN A GERMAN RAIDER, is now under censure by some very patriotic gentlemen.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy by this same day's mail. Will you have one of your most expert editors read it, and if there is the slightest suggestion of aid or comfort to any enemy anywhere I will immediately withdraw the book.

Should you discover that in your judgment the book should not now be issued in its present form, please telegraph me, that I may make its withdrawal all the more promptly.

Very truly yours,

[Signed: GEORGE H. DORAN]

September 19, 1918

MR. GEORGE H. DORAN  
244 Madison Avenue  
New York City.

MY DEAR MR. DORAN:

With regard to the book "TEN MONTHS IN A GERMAN RAIDER," I think it wise to withdraw it from sale. Frankly, there is nothing pro-German in any of its pages, but I have no doubt a criticism will be directed against many pages in which a friendly spirit is manifested toward certain individual Germans.

All this may seem foolish, and it is foolish to me, but we are dealing with an excited frame of mind that regards everything as pro-German that is not violently anti-German.

It is also the case that attention has been directed to your publications by the unfortunate publicity of the National Security League, and the best thing to do is to err on the side of caution.

Sincerely,

[Signed: GEORGE CREEL]  
Chairman

CANADA  
DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
OFFICE OF CHIEF PRESS CENSOR

CONFIDENTIAL:

Ottawa, October 23rd, 1918

DEAR MR. CREEL:

According to one of our French Canadian papers, the Secretary of War has published a list of books which United States' soldiers are forbidden to have in their possession or to read.

If this information is correct, I wonder if you will kindly have a list of these books sent to me.

If these books are unsuitable for reading by United States' soldiers, it might be advisable for us to forbid their circulation in Canada.

Yours faithfully,

[ERNEST J. CHAMBERS]  
Chief Press Censor for Canada

October 28, 1918

COLONEL ERNEST J. CHAMBERS  
Chief Press Censor for Canada  
Ottawa, Canada

MY DEAR COLONEL CHAMBERS:

In accordance with your request of the 23rd instant, the following publications have been withdrawn from circulation in military camps, through an order of the Department of Military Censorship:

| BOOK                                      | AUTHOR                   |
|---|--------------------------|
| Behind the Scenes in Warring Germany      | Edward Lyell Fox         |
| Book of Truth and Facts                   | Fritz von Frantzius      |
| Disgrace of Democracy                     | Kelly Miller             |
| German Empire's Hour of Destiny           | Col. H. Frobenius        |
| Germany and the War                       | Bernhard Dernburg        |
| Germany's Just Cause                      | J. O'D. Bennett & Others |
| Heel of War                               | George B. McClellan      |
| Jesus is Coming                           | Anonymous                |
| Outlook for Religion                      | W. E. Orchard            |
| Searchlight, The                          | Lawrence Mott (editor)   |
| Short Rations                             | Madeleine Z. Doty        |
| 2,000 Questions and Answers About the War | Anonymous                |
| Understanding Germany                     | Max Eastman              |
| War and America, The                      | Hugo Muensterburg        |
| War and Waste                             | David Starr Jordan       |

Sincerely,

[GEORGE CREEL]  
Chairman

The friendship between George Creel and Arthur Brisbane is suggested by the following letters, which also reveal the way in which Mr. Creel received an attack on himself at a meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers Association:

THE WASHINGTON TIMES  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 27th, 1918

*Personal*

MY DEAR MR. CREEL:

I thought the enclosed clipping from today's Chicago NEWS might interest you. There is a rather strong adjective in that article—the kind that ought not to be flung around loosely in these days.

I hope you are well.

Yours sincerely,

[Signed: A. BRISBANE]

ATTACKS THE CREEL BUREAU

Hopewell L. Rogers Urges Publishers Form News Body in Capital

(By *The Associated Press*)

New York, April 25.—A suggestion that newspaper publishers form a bureau of their own in Washington, were contained in the annual address of Hopewell L. Rogers of The Chicago Daily News, president of the American Newspaper Publishers' association, at the Waldorf Astoria yesterday.

"Such a body might enable us more quickly and effectively to disclose to the public the fallacy of maintaining a department of the government which, on the one hand, deals out misinformation and, on the other, withholds news until it has reached the people through the bulletins of the enemy.

"It might enable us to rid ourselves of the incompetent and *disloyal*<sup>26</sup> head of that department who glories in our unpreparedness, and unpreparedness which already has meant death and suffering to millions of our allies and which has placed us for more than a year in the humiliating position of depending on them to cary [*sic*] on our war for liberty and democracy."

April 29, 1918

MR. A. BRISBANE,  
The Washington Times,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. BRISBANE:

Thanks very much for the kindly thought behind your note. Right after Rogers made his speech, I wired him asking him to appoint a Committee to

<sup>26</sup> This word not italic but encircled in blue pencil in original. The clipping sent by Brisbane was from an early edition; story in later edition was considerably longer.

come to Washington to investigate our work in order that the question of efficiency might be decided fairly, but he concealed the fact of the telegram from the other directors. I mean to insist upon this course even though I do not regard the American Newspaper Publishers' Association as at all representative of the editorial side of the press.

As for my loyalty, even if it were seriously in question, I do not think that anyone regards a representative of the Chicago Daily News as being fitted to pass upon the question of Americanism.

Sincerely,

[GEORGE CREEL]

Chairman

Apparent evidence of the manufacture of war news by the Hearst press is contained in the following correspondence:

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE DIVISION  
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE BRANCH

In replying refer to  
28 - 7

M. I. 4 - 7

May 9, 1918

MR. GEORGE CREEL  
Chairman, Committee on Public Information  
10 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. CREEL:

Enclosed you will find an article which appeared in the New York American<sup>27</sup> with the cable date line of April 30, 1918. Copies of dispatches furnished by the press censor show that this cable never passed through the censorship office. In other words, if it came through, it came in a way to avoid censorship. It appears to this office from the reading of the dispatch that apparently it was written in the United States, being a "grape vine," as newspaper men call it, or a story written on some little fragment of fact secured from another source. If this be true, of course, it is a case of manufacturing news.

<sup>27</sup> Captain Hunt was apparently in error. The clipping seems to have been from an early edition of the *New York Journal* of April 30, 1918.



Will it not be possible for you to have one of your men take this matter up with the Hearst office in New York? The suggestion is that the approach should be made on the basis that the dispatch is a legitimate one and that cable censorship has been evaded. This probably would either cause an admission that the censorship had been evaded, or would bring out the information that the dispatch is a fictitious one written in this country.

This office would like to have this matter cleared up and the practice of manufacturing news articles preceded by cable dispatch lines stopped if possible. It is one of the duties of an attache of the censorship office to determine whether changes have been made in cable dispatches by the papers which receive them, also to determine if there are censorship evasions or an actual manufacturing of cable dispatches. . . .

Will you be good enough to return to us the enclosed clipping when it has served your purpose? [Clipping still attached to correspondence].

Yours very sincerely,

R. H. Van Deman, Colonel, General Staff,  
Chief, Military Intelligence Branch,  
Executive Division

By [Signed: HENRY T. HUNT]  
Henry T. Hunt, Captain, Inf., U.S.N.A.

(Enclosure)

#### AMERICANS GO SINGING TO BATTLE

Pershing's Men in High Spirits on Amiens Line—Artillery Makes Record

WITH THE AMERICAN ARMY IN NORTHERN FRANCE, April 30.—Laughing and joking in the face of danger, United States soldiers have gone through several days' exciting experiences on the battlefield and to-day are eager for more.

Stationed by General Foch on the line protecting the road to Paris and Amiens, these Americans are thus rendering valuable assistance in the general Franco-British defense on the whole battle line.

The accuracy of the American artillery has become the subject of enthusiastic comment. Ten shots to the enemy's one have been scored in more than one instance.

Whole villages behind the foe's line have been scrapped under the American gunfire. The American seventy-fives and heavier pieces are rendering a good account of themselves.



### GO TO FRONT SINGING

Singing popular Broadway airs the Americans clambered gaily into box-cars and day coaches for the trip to the front. Guns mounted on flatcars, which carried their equipment, protected the troops from attack by enemy airplanes en route.

Disembarking at a point of rail destination the men faced a long hike in the rain. But this situation they accepted cheerfully. The march was one continuous ovation from the civilian population.

Arriving on the fighting line, the artillery immediately took up positions occupied by French gunners and finished the work of digging in. All this time the Americans were exposed to the enemy's fire.

Then came the infantry forces. They, too, were exposed to fitful deluges of shrapnel. But both artillery and infantry took it all with the utmost calm.

### "ALL IN THE DAY'S WORK"

"It's all in the day's work," one young American lieutenant was heard to remark. It was expressive of the American spirit. And now, after some days of actual battle experience, that spirit remains undaunted.

Hard fighting lies ahead for the Americans defending Amiens, for it is regarded as certain that the Germans will continue their attempts to gain this long-coveted base.

[The clipping bears the pencilled notation: "Mr. Winslow could find no cable for this."]

May 10, 1918

COMMANDER GEORGE BARR BAKER,  
Care Chief Naval Censor,  
20 Broad Street,  
New York City, N.Y.

MY DEAR GEORGE:

If I were you, I would have a man from the Hearst papers come over to see you at once. Take up with him this matter of "grapevines," changes in cable, and other things, and try to make them see that it is to their advantage to conform absolutely to the rules and regulations.

Yours sincerely,

[GEORGE CREEL]  
Chairman

20 Broad Street  
New York, May 13th, 1918

DEAR GEORGE:

Answering yours of May 10th:

After a comprehensive discussion between Rogers and myself, the former visited the Hearst News Agency and also Assistant General Manager Snyder and Mr. Farris, the News Editor.

In general conversation these two gentlemen learned that all news despatches coming into the country were being checked up to discover whether they were being printed as received. Mr. Snyder and Mr. Farris agreed that this was undoubtedly a fine scheme and would work as a protection to all interested. Since that date the department doing the work of comparison has reported regularly that the Hearst papers have not been infringing.

We will remain in close touch with the situation and advise you should conditions change.

Sincerely yours,

[Signed: G. B. BAKER]

GBB:w

One of the most interesting sets of documents in the CPI files is concerned with censorship of the Fox moving picture *The Caillaux Case*. There is not sufficient space to reproduce here the entire correspondence, with memoranda of the exact cutting carried out by Fox under pressure from the CPI. The general nature of the changes, however, is suggested by the following letter from J. E. MacBride; the extent of the changes by the letter from Philip H. Patchin, reproduced on the insert facing page 17.

HON. GEORGE CREEL, Chairman,  
Committee on Public Information,  
Washington, D.C.

August 28, 1918

DEAR SIR:

Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 8th and the accompanying comments on the photoplay *THE CAILLAUX CASE*. I have delayed replying to your letter until the editing and re-vamping of this film was completed.

I can now assure you that we have met substantially every objection raised by the critics of this film, except the question of whether a recognized

agency of publicity has the right to delve into the private life of a public man.

I cannot of course judge that from the French standpoint except by reading their newspapers. However, in this country we have never been guided by any such restrictions and as this is a film made for presentation to the American people, we must be guided entirely by American standards and customs.

I am attaching herewith a report by our Film Editing Department which shows in detail the cuts that have been made. For your information, I will translate that report herewith.

The eliminations which we have made are as follows:

We have eliminated the pre-judgment of the guilt of Caillaux by specifically stating in a title at the opening of the play that although Caillaux is under "arrest and accusation, he is yet to be tried."

We have eliminated the scene showing Caillaux receiving a bag of gold.

We have modified all references to the "Secret X Society" and eliminated the implication that it was an all powerful body by referring to it as a "little band organized by servants of the Kaiser in their endeavor to undermine all European countries."

We have eliminated all reference to Premier Clemenceau by cutting out title in which he is first shown at the reception and later by eliminating the entire wedding scene, where he was shown as a guest.

We have eliminated the scene at the reception in which Calmette accuses Caillaux of wrong doing.

We have also eliminated a prior scene in which Calmette told his wife he intended to go to the reception to accuse Caillaux.

We have eliminated the entire wedding scene in which Leo Claretie appeared and we have also eliminated the scene in his own library, after the wedding, in which he is shown as a drunkard.

We have eliminated the scene which shows the secret document being intercepted in the office of the Secretary of the President of the French Republic.

We have eliminated the statement in a title that evidence against Caillaux was furnished by the State Department.

WE HAVE ELIMINATED THE MOB SCENE, WHICH FORMERLY COMPRISED PRACTICALLY THE WHOLE OF PART SEVEN OF THE PICTURE. THAT WAS THE SCENE IN WHICH MADAM CAILLAUX WAS DRAGGED FROM HER HOME AND COMPELLED TO KISS THE FRENCH FLAG. We have eliminated this scene on your personal representation that the actual happenings in the streets

of Paris were trivial, though the newspapers both of Paris and New York pictured it at the time as an actual mob scene.

We have made these very radical changes, meeting in every way possible the objections of the French High Commission, because it is our desire to do everything humanly possible to remove from this film every feature which would, in the slightest way, wound the feelings of the People of France, or their Representatives.

Permit me to repeat with emphasis, my assurance to you, that in the production of this film, the Fox Film Corporation sought in every way to glorify the French People.

Throughout the entire film, the only characters upon which the slightest reflection was cast—and those characters we did seek to pillory—were Bolo Pasha, convicted and executed for treason to France, Joseph Caillaux, under arrest in France, accused of treason, and the individuals associated with them.

That the Representatives of the French High Commission recognized that such was our attitude to their country, is borne out by the opening paragraph of their communication, which is as follows:

We first want to express our appreciation for the courtesy the authors of this film have shown in multiplying in their inscription and in their scenery, the proof of their admiration for France.

As I have said, the whole motive of our picturization of THE CAILLAUX CASE was to pillory that German propaganda which existed in France and which was exemplified in the execution of Bolo Pasha and in the arrest of Joseph Caillaux.

• We sought to strike a blow at that propaganda just as the Committee on Public Information, The Department of Justice, the newspapers of this Country and many film producers have sought to expose and thwart German propaganda in this Country. We have admitted that German propaganda exists in this Country, and its existence is no reflection upon the American People, who are striving to crush it out.

Certainly German propagandists were at work in France and the execution of Bolo Pasha and the arrest of Joseph Caillaux was no insult to the French People. To the contrary, it was a recognition of their ability to kill the snake when they found it in their path.

Awaiting your reply, I am

[Signed: J. E. MACBRIDE]  
FOX FILM CORPORATION.

Not all of the picture of the CPI by a long way is painted in such a work as Viereck's *Spreading Germs of Hate*, an examination of the files shows. There was probably more liberty of expression in America than in other warring nations of the day. The advertising that America obtained throughout the world during the war days by the CPI played no small part in the great commercial expansion enjoyed in the 1920's. The shifting sands of political fortune, however, brought a new administration into power in 1921, and in the overturn that followed, many charges of one sort or another flew back and forth.<sup>28</sup> In 1918 extensive hearings regarding the CPI before the Subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations, consuming 172 pages, failed to reveal any financial irregularities.<sup>29</sup>

Of all the legends that have persisted since the World War none seems to have hung on with such tenacity as the stereotype that Mr. Creel was the arch-propagandist of the World War. One finds echoes of this right down to the present, such as the following excerpt taken from an editorial in the Washington, D.C., *Herald* of July 9, 1938:

Mr. George Creel and the expert British advisers to the State Department during the World War conveyed to the American public an impression that the German soldier was a criminal set apart, a slitter of babies' throats and a brutal despoiler of cathedrals.

Nothing is more at variance with the facts as revealed by the records of the CPI.

<sup>28</sup> See *Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves, Hearings before the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys*, United States Senate, 68th Congress 1st session, pursuant to S. Res. 282, S. Res. 294, and S. Res. 434 (67th Congress, 4th session), Part Six, pp. 2123-44.

<sup>29</sup> *Sundry Civil Bill, 1919, Committee on Public Information, Hearing before Subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations*. . . . Part Three, 65th Congress, 2nd session (Washington, D.C., 1918), pp. 1-172.

# TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF DIRECT LEGISLATION IN CALIFORNIA

By EDWIN A. COTTRELL

Professor Cottrell is Executive Head of the School of Social Sciences at Stanford University, where he has been Professor of Political Science since 1919. He is first Vice-President of the American Political Science Association and a member of the Executive Council of the National Municipal League. His study of government has been supplemented by active service in Palo Alto's municipal affairs, including a term as Mayor, and by work with various State bodies. Currently he is a member of the California Commission on Taxation and the Costs of Government.

**T**hirty Dollars a Week for Life" or "Ham and Eggs Every Thursday" attracted the attention of the whole country to what *Time* calls "the great and screwy State of California." With this and other attractive and highly controversial measures on the ballot every two years, we might pause after twenty-five years' experience with direct legislation in California to examine the record. After each biennial election, with its weird proposals and bitterly contested emotional battles, we reflect again upon the task imposed upon the voters. The serious-minded and studious voter finds himself confronted with a set of measures covering every conceivable subject and technical question. Any earnest effort to vote intelligently and attempt to express a real public opinion places a great strain on the whole democratic process.

The story of direct legislation in California begins in 1911 when twenty-three constitutional amendments were proposed by the Legislature under the full force of the progressive movement headed by Governor Hiram Johnson. All but one of the measures were adopted.

A simple statement of the constitutional provisions in Article IV, Section 1, "Legislative Department," is that the initiative may be used when a petition containing signatures of qualified electors—to the amount of 8 per cent of the vote for Governor at the last general election (for 1937-38 this requirement was 186,378) for direct reference to the people, and 5 per cent (116,487) for consid-



eration by the Legislature—are filed with the county registrars of voters and transmitted to the Secretary of State. The title of the proposed measure must have been prepared by the State Attorney General previous to circulation of the petitions, and should not contain more than one hundred words. If the proposal is adopted by the people it becomes law immediately and is not subject to veto by the Governor, and it may be amended or repealed only by the people. No 5 per cent petition for an act had been submitted to the Legislature until 1937, when one providing for control and reduction of fishing in the waters outside of the three-mile limit was presented and not acted upon. An additional number of signatures were secured to place the proposal upon the November ballot as a direct initiative. This act was adopted by a substantial majority.

The referendum requires 5 per cent of the vote for Governor at the last general election and must be filed with the Secretary of State within ninety days of adjournment of the Legislature. The petitions may be separate sections or sheets, but a correct and certified copy of the title must be at the head of each sheet. The petitioner must sign his legal name and give his residence and voting precinct. The petitions are filed by counties, and signatures are verified in each county and certified as to the valid ones to the Secretary of State, who announces their adequacy and qualification of the measure for the ballot.

#### INFORMATION PAMPHLETS

The constitution was amended in 1908, three years before adoption of direct legislation, to require the Secretary of State to publish a pamphlet which contains the full text of all proposals, the facsimile of each measure on the ballot, and arguments for and against the measure not exceeding five hundred words each. Arguments for the initiated measures are written by the sponsors; opposition arguments by persons selected by the Secretary of State. Arguments on measures submitted by the Legislature or by referendum petition are written by persons designated by the Lieutenant Governor, as presiding officer of the Senate. The Secretary of State

**TABLE I**  
**Summary of Votes on Measures Submitted**

|  | <i>Total Submitted</i> | <i>Adopted</i> | <i>Rejected</i> |
|--|------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <b>REFERENDUM</b>                        |                        |                |                 |
| Legislative Act by Petition of Voters    | 28                     | 8              | 20              |
| Constitutional Amendment by Legislature  | 185                    | 105            | 80              |
| Bond Issues by Legislature               | 15                     | 11             | 4               |
| <i>Referendum Total</i>                  | 228                    | 124            | 104             |
| <b>INITIATIVE</b>                        |                        |                |                 |
| Statutes                                 | 37                     | 11             | 26              |
| Constitutional Amendments                | 54                     | 15             | 39              |
| Bond Issues                              | 2                      | 1              | 1               |
| <i>Initiative Total</i>                  | 93                     | 27             | 66              |
| <b>CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS</b>            | 3                      | 2              | 1               |
| 1912-1936 Total Measures                 | 324                    | 153            | 171             |
| 1879-1911 Constitutional Amendments      | 130                    | 90             | 40              |
| 1879-1936 Total Measures                 | 454                    | 243            | 211             |
| <b>PERCENTAGE ADOPTED</b>                |                        |                |                 |
| 1912-1936 Under Direct Legislation       |                        | 47.2           |                 |
| 1879-1911 Constitutional Amendments Only |                        | 69.2           |                 |
| 1879-1936 Total Measures Submitted       |                        | 53.5           |                 |

is required to have prepared and sent to the clerk of each county for distribution to the voters one and one-twentieth times as many pamphlets as there are registered voters in the state or in each county. The clerk mails a copy of the pamphlet (of 78 pages in 1938), a sample ballot, and a notice of voting place to each voter. The percentage of votes cast on constitutional amendments to votes cast in the election before adoption of the information pamphlet was 35, while the average for all years since that time has been 63. Table I gives results of the elections.

#### **ELECTORATE MORE CONSERVATIVE**

The referendum has been invoked by petition of the voters twenty-eight times. The Legislature was sustained on eight of its acts and repudiated on twenty. Were the people right in overruling their legislative representatives? Were they right in their votes sustaining the Legislature? Most people would answer yes to both



questions. These votes were not only a check on hasty or ill-considered legislation but also excellent as education. Publicity and discussion aroused an enlivened interest in government and were reflected in the votes cast at the elections.

However, a different story appears when we examine the constitutional amendments submitted by the Legislature. There were 185 of these. The people accepted 105 and rejected 80. Only four of fifteen referred bond issues were rejected by the voters.

The initiative has not been invoked as frequently as either its proponents or opponents prophesied. In the eighteen elections held during the quarter-century, there has been a total of 93 measures brought directly to the voters without recourse to the Legislature. These consist of 37 proposed laws, 11 of which were accepted and 26 rejected; 54 proposed constitutional amendments, of which 15 were accepted and 39 rejected; and only two proposed bond issues, one of which was adopted.

The aggregate result of the measures submitted shows that the voters adopted 54 per cent of the proposals of the Legislature and only 29 per cent of those proposed by initiative petition. This is as it should be, for the sifting procedure of one or more legislative sessions, combined with the administrative advice which the Legislature receives, promises more stable consideration of an amendment than the free-for-all of an initiative campaign.

Prior to 1912, 69 per cent of the amendments submitted by the Legislature were adopted. After that date only 50 per cent of the proposed amendments received approval. Only 54 per cent of all legislative proposals—amendments, bond issues, and concurrent resolutions—were approved. Over the whole period of the present constitution, 1879 to 1938, only 59 per cent of the proposals submitted by the Legislature to the voters have been approved, while only 53 per cent of all measures were adopted. Evaluation of the measures in either class shows a decidedly conservative attitude on the part of the voters. It must be admitted, however, that very few of the amendments belong in the constituent document. Nearly all of them should have been enacted as statutes by the Legislature or through the direct initiative.

## POPULAR PARTICIPATION

The average percentage of votes cast to total registration in various periods is as follows:

|           |     |   |
|-----------|-----|---|
| 1879      | 97% | Adoption of Constitution                |
| 1884-1898 | 70% |   |
| 1900-1910 | 53% |   |
| 1911      |     | <i>Adoption of Direct Legislation</i>   |
| 1912-1919 | 63% | 72% exclusive of two special elections  |
| 1920-1928 | 70% |   |
| 1930-1936 | 62% | 75% exclusive of four special elections |

This summary demonstrates that the percentage of voters to total registration runs reasonably high and shows no diminution with the burden of deciding issues presented at each election.

The average percentage of the total vote cast on measures submitted to the total vote cast at the election:

|                   |     |
|-------------------|-----|
| All elections     | 69% |
| Special elections | 88% |
| General elections | 67% |

The percentage of vote cast to total vote at the special elections distorts the figures showing interest on the measures. The participation of voters in five special elections averages only 35 per cent of the total registration.

The percentage in metropolitan areas is approximately the same as in rural districts. The percentage of those who voted on candidates for office but did not vote on measures is not easy to figure except in general terms. Most of the more hotly contested measures on the ballot will draw at least 90 per cent of the vote cast for President or Governor, and in many cases more votes than for most candidates for other offices. In general, however, the vote cast on measures is somewhat lower than that cast for important candidates.

Only 35 measures out of the 153 adopted received a majority of the total votes cast at the election. One vote of 87 per cent was cast in a special election in 1919 when there was only one measure on the ballot. Only 18 per cent of the registered voters appeared at the polls, 99 per cent of that number voted on the measure, and 87 per cent approved the measure (issuance of \$40,000,000 in highway

bonds). Thus 16 per cent of the voters of the state bonded the entire group of taxpayers for \$40,000,000.

The measures which have received more than 50 per cent of the total vote cast at the election may be divided into three major classes and a miscellaneous group. Those dealing with taxation matters are most numerous. The bond issues usually received large votes. Of the twelve approved in this period, eight of them exceeded 50 per cent of those voting at the election. The liquor measures which were adopted show 62 per cent for repeal of prohibition and 59 per cent for state control. Miscellaneous measures which received more than 50 per cent of the total vote cast were creation of public kindergartens, alien land law, suffrage qualifications, conservation of water, eminent domain, indemnifying owners of cattle destroyed by the state, prevention of leasing of state-owned oil tidelands, creation of a horse-racing board, date on which laws shall become effective after passage, defendants pleading guilty, and a constitutional amendment providing for the improved methods in the state's merit system.

The principal questions which have been submitted to the voters might be classified as follows:

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Taxation—new taxes, repeal of, exemptions from | 53 |
| City and county charters—powers                | 34 |
| Election procedure, conventions                | 25 |
| Bond issues and procedure                      | 24 |
| Judiciary and judicial procedure               | 19 |
| Liquor—control, prohibition                    | 14 |
| Salaries                                       | 12 |
| Professions, vaccination, vivisection          | 11 |
| Reclamation                                    | 9  |
| Boards and commissions                         | 8  |
| Sports—boxing, horse-racing                    | 8  |
| Municipal powers—special districts             | 7  |
| Public money—borrowing, deposit                | 7  |
| Education                                      | 7  |
| Highways—financing                             | 6  |
| Utilities                                      | 5  |

The so-called "single tax" proposal appeared at each election from 1916 to 1922. In 1936 it was ruled off the ballot, after qualify-

ing in quantity, for insufficient or misleading statement of purpose in the descriptive matter on the petitions. It qualified for the 1938 election and won a court fight to remain on the ballot, but sustained its seventh defeat, this time by more than a million votes. There has been more opposition feeling on this measure than any other presented, even including the \$30 Every Thursday or liquor control. Probably more than one-half million dollars was expended to defeat it in 1938.

Tax exemption has been very popular with sixteen different classes of property applying for assistance. The California constitution now exempts more classes of property than any other state.

The record vote for the whole period was that cast in 1936 on the proposition to license chain stores. This measure was a referendum on Chapter 849 of the Statutes of 1935 which provided for a progressive system of fees on all businesses and their branch stores except filling stations. The total registration of voters for the election was 3,253,821. There were 2,712,342 votes cast at the election and 2,437,221 cast on this measure. This is only 89 per cent of all votes cast, but it is the largest total vote ever cast on any measure, and is only 200,000 fewer votes than were cast for President.

There is no evidence that a large number of measures are sectional—in application, support, or opposition. There is no urban-rural, north-south, valley-coast opinion on measures, although it is often found in the contest of candidates for office. Initiatives have nearly all been submitted by some special interest, rather than by any spontaneous desire of the whole body of voters. Naturally, all such proposals are of general public interest, and affect the whole people in some manner. The measures over the entire period are similar, and any one election would reflect the type of questions submitted.

Many of the propositions submitted to the voters are technical changes in existing provisions of the law, constitutional limitations or lack of specific authorization, or strictly local in character. The Legislature should be empowered to deal with such matters without recourse to the people, except when the referendum is invoked, as it well might be on highly controversial issues or where it was

felt that the Legislature had exceeded its legal powers. These large numbers of constitutional amendments—16 out of 25 measures in 1938—really encumber the ballot and distract the voter's thinking from other and more important questions. At least two-thirds of the measures could be kept off the ballot each election if the statutory sort of amendment were left to the Legislature or placed in an administrative code. Only fundamental changes in form or substance of the constitution need be submitted to the voters.

#### EVALUATION OF RESULTS

Evaluation of the results of direct legislation or the right or wrong of any measure submitted depends entirely on personal judgment. It can be stated categorically that where there have been sinister or special interests behind measures, both the Legislature and the people have usually refused to enact their proposals into law. There is no evidence that the Legislature has been kept in check by the threat of direct legislation. In fact, some believe that the Legislature has sometimes passed both constitutional amendments and statutes on the understanding that the Governor would veto the bill or that the people, under the referendum, would override the act at the next general election.

There has certainly been a sustained number of measures presented at each election and a corresponding interest in voting upon them.

The list of constitutional amendments and statutes appearing on the biennial and special state ballots is too long to make it possible for any great percentage of the voters to be informed adequately on all of them. This has resulted in heavy voting on the important measures and rather light votes on less important questions. Publicity pamphlets, newspapers, organizations, and speakers can deal with only a few of the questions which the voter wishes answered. He must have his opinions formulated before he enters the polling booth, as it takes longer to read the titles of the measures on the ballot than the time allowed by law for casting an entire ballot. When the lists are long, as they have been in ten of the eighteen elections since the adoption of the system, only a minority

of the voters will take the trouble to study the propositions and find out what they mean.

There have been comparatively few absolutely new laws or amendments. Most of those approved have been concerned with enlargement or revision of existing practices or statutes, and have been written into the constitution by interests which felt that they could not trust the Legislature. Neither fear of much radical legislation on the one hand, nor of an ultra-conservative attitude of the people on the other, has proved justified. The time element has worked nicely in making decisions. Measures which have appeared on the ballot several times have either been accepted as their provisions and purposes became clear, or, in the case of those which were particularly objectionable, have been defeated year after year by increasing majorities.

There is some evidence that the people are more anxious to adopt and obey legislation passed through the direct process than through the usual method of legislative enactment. Perhaps we have recreated an enlarged town meeting. At least it can be said that a condition is present where any person seems called upon to express himself on any question to any audience that will listen. There is certainly more intelligent discussion and deliberation of measures by the electorate than is found in a session of the Legislature with its obscure and inefficient committee system. "You can't corrupt an entire electorate," is being dinned into the ears of the voters constantly. Most editorial writers and students of government agree that over the whole period of direct legislation the people have understood most of the measures and as a whole have acted wisely in making their decisions. There has not been much hasty or ill-considered legislation to check. Corruption and extravagance have been little affected by this process. In fact, the people have usually been more willing to tax and bond themselves than the Legislature would have been. The character of the legislative personnel and procedure have not changed. Mistakes in drafting direct legislation have been corrected easily. Several recently initiated amendments have refrained from prescribing details of administration in the constitution, leaving that to the Legislature. This is



a real step in the right direction. There has been no considerable amount of litigation over measures adopted; in fact, it might be said that there has been more court action to prevent certain measures from appearing on the ballot than on provisions of those which the people actually accepted.

#### INFLUENCE OF NEWSPAPERS

Those who predicted that direct legislation would lead to government by newspapers were far from correct. Studies have been made of newspaper advice on all ballot measures at certain elections. These studies are incomplete and should be carried on more extensively to cover all elections and a larger number of newspapers. However, indications are found that the people more often follow the advice of organizations, friends, or local political leaders than they do the newspapers of their immediate vicinity. A study of the advice issued by twelve newspapers and twenty-one organizations on the twenty-three measures on the 1936 ballot shows that these sources of information were nearly unanimous in recommending that six measures be adopted, but the voters defeated three of these.

A similar study made in 1922 for the first ten years of operation of direct legislation, but including a smaller sampling of advisers, showed a much larger tendency on the part of the voter to go it alone and ignore the advice of the newspapers. However, in 1938, twelve newspapers and thirteen civic organizations combined recommended voting "yes" on twelve measures, "no" on twelve, and one was a tie. The voters followed this advice on nineteen measures—seven "yes" and twelve "no." Only five measures rejected by the voters had been strongly recommended—two initiatives and three legislative constitutional amendments.

These studies are incomplete, because the great mass of the voters are in three metropolitan areas and in the great central valley. There are four or more dailies in each of the two main centers. There are dozens of community newspapers with daily or weekly issues which carry considerable weight and have wide local circulations. The larger vote cast on measures and candidates



in certain sections of the state is directly measured by the influence of the local press as against that of the metropolitan papers which spread more thinly through these local communities.

Radical measures are easily tagged by the press and interest aroused to defeat them. Ambiguous wording and hidden meanings are more readily explained by the newspapers than in the publicity pamphlet or on the stump. Newspapers begin an exhaustive explanation in their editorial columns as soon as the measures have qualified and been given their place on the ballot. The single tax and state pension plan were discussed in 1938 by the press as early as the middle of July. A long series of articles, usually showing arguments on each side, appears in most newspapers. The pamphlet of information issued by the Secretary of State is usually late, but newspapers, organizations, and persons desiring copies may obtain complete information on its contents as soon as the lists are closed and the material prepared for the page sheets. A measure adopted this year will lengthen the time of study by providing that initiated petitions shall be filed one hundred and thirty days instead of ninety days before an election, thus making it possible to have the information bulletin in the hands of the voters much earlier than at present.

Conflicting measures often appear on the same ballot. However, the voters have never adopted any which were in direct opposition. Some measures are complementary and are usually adopted under certain knowledge that all are necessary. Some measures are introduced as substitutes providing for the same ends that others seek, but using different methods to accomplish that end.

The early charge that direct legislation would arouse passions between different elements of the population has failed to materialize. Liquor interests against prohibitionists, gambling interests against church members, public ownership against private investors in utilities, anti-vivisectionists against the medical schools and universities, single taxers against property owning groups, chiropractors and osteopaths against orthodox medical practitioners, local merchants against chain stores, all have campaigned in the

spirit that win or lose another day will come. Political parties, communities, organizations, families divide on these measures, yet live amicably otherwise.

#### METHODS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

The methods of education followed by two permanent organizations of large memberships should be noted. The Commonwealth Club of California, with a statewide membership of more than 4,000 men, carries considerable influence with the voters. All proposed measures, except certain highly controversial and personal ones like liquor control, are referred to standing study sections for hearings, followed by discussion and vote by the members of the section. The results of the section votes are sent to the full membership of the club and a postcard vote taken. Results are published in the monthly transactions and circulated to the members, but the club does not become a militant organization on any measure, as it realizes that among its membership are many who would conscientiously oppose some measure which the majority of the club might desire. However, the newspapers usually report the result of votes, and the club has a fine record of accomplishment in starting measures on their way from section discussions to the ballot and in shaping opinion into laws.<sup>1</sup> In 1936 the voters agreed with the club recommendations on every measure, in 1934 on all but one, while in 1938 there was disagreement on three.

Another excellent form of assistance to the voter is found in the "Explained sample ballot to offer voters information concerning officers and issues," circulated by the California League of Women Voters. This is a rough reproduction of the ballot (22 x 43) with information required by law but with elimination of the names of candidates. An explanation of each office is given with the number to be elected, how elected, salary, terms, powers and duties. The process of submitting a constitutional amendment, and a referred or initiated measure of the state, city, and county is explained. The state measures are printed exactly as they will

<sup>1</sup> For excellent studies of direct legislation see *Transactions of the Commonwealth Club of California*, I: 5, January 1905; VI: 5, September 1911; XXV: 11, March 1930.

appear on the ballot by number and title. In a corresponding column is an explanation of each. For example, here is the language of one proposed constitutional amendment, with the League's explanation:

| On the Ballot   | Explanation   |
|---|---|
| Adds Section 7 to Article II of Constitution. Authorizes Legislature to provide for registration of electors. Confirms and ratifies act entitled "An Act to amend Sections 1083(a), 1094, 1095(a), 1097, 1103, 1105, 1106, 1115, 1120 and to repeal Sections 1228 and 1229 of the Political Code, relating to registration of electors and conduct of elections," approved by electors November 4, 1930, as amended: declaring same may be amended, revised, supplemented or repealed by Legislature. | If passed it will mean that the present provision for the permanent registration of voters, now subject only to initiative action, will be transferred to the Legislature for revision, supplemental action or repeal. Many persons contend that by giving the Legislature the power to repeal, that immediate repeal may be expected. There is a difference of opinion among legislators as to whether permanent registration should or should not continue. |

Necessary advice was also given in another measure on the same ballot, changing the name of the State Railroad Commission to Public Service Commission and changing the method of term appointment. The whole proposal was desirable and necessary, but the advice was given: "If passed it will mean that the Railroad Commission will be changed in name to the Public Service Commission. An error made in drafting the bill, omitting one paragraph, has caused the sponsor of the bill to ask opposition to it." In spite of this, and with practically every publicity agency in the state giving the same advice to defeat the measure, it received 306,831 votes in its favor.

#### CRITICISMS

One of the main objections to the present system of direct legislation has been the cost of circulating and checking petitions and of campaigning. It has been suggested that this cost might very well prevent meritorious measures from being submitted or adopted. The cost of obtaining signatures for a petition exceeds

\$30,000 if paid workers are used and receive the usual ten or fifteen cents per signature. The law requires a filing with the Secretary of State of all expenses, in excess of \$1,000, of an election campaign for officers or measures. As in the case of all such laws, the direct expenditures covered are insignificant compared with the supplementary expenses not reached by statute. After the election of 1922 a legislative committee tried to discover, without much success, whether the side with the largest purse could be assured of victory. Seven measures accounted for more than a million dollars of reported expenditures. Nothing is said in the law about the indirect expenditures for literature, advertising, undercover work, speakers, house organs, general advertising contracts, employment of headliners for radio broadcasts, billboard displays, airplane advertising, and other methods of propaganda which are not necessarily handled by the committee or persons directly in charge of the campaign.

Expenditures on most measures are far in excess of the popular conception or reported figures. All will agree that there should not be too strict a limit placed on this form of educational campaign. However, the voter wishes to know who are the backers of each measure, who is to receive the direct benefits of the proposal, what the sources of support are on each side, what amount is being spent, and who compose the membership of the fly-by-night organizations of high-sounding and patriotic names which are campaigning.

Persons prominent in civic organizations, labor unions, and other groups often campaign within their own groups by using their official position or connection without disclosing their employment or real purpose. Naturally, there is no direct payment for such boring from within, but expense accounts and other forms of influence-expenditures are readily discovered without much effort. There has grown up a professional class of persons who spend their entire time in managing campaigns for this or that measure.

The campaign for and against the referendum on the chain store license in 1936 brought forth the longest and most interesting campaign of education which has occurred since the water and power struggles, and not excepting the "Ham and Eggs" delirium.

The total expenditures of both sides will never be known. The chain stores and the independent merchants were organized into many groups and federated into two central ones. Both spent huge sums on advertising in newspapers, on billboards, over the radio, from sound trucks, on motion picture screens, on automobile stickers, by airplane or dirigible trailers and sky-writing, and by premiums to customers in the various stores. Programs were broadcast with such headliners as Conrad Nagel as master of ceremonies. The same methods were employed in 1938 for and against the \$30 Every Thursday plan, repeal of the sales tax and adoption of a form of single tax, the revenue bond act, the labor control initiative, and the highway and traffic safety commission. Total expenditures on all proposals exclusive of expenditures for candidates will exceed two million dollars, of which the \$30 Every Thursday organization spent \$150,000 for nearly a million signatures and more than \$400,000 to obtain a million votes.

#### SUGGESTED CHANGES IN PROCEDURE

Many proposals have been made to shorten the number of measures appearing on the ballot. Some would raise the signature requirement from 5 and 8 per cent to 10 and 15. Others would restrict the number of measures which could be presented at one time, as is done in some states with constitutional amendments. Still others would prevent a measure from appearing more than once in, say, three or five elections. Some would require the Legislature to pass proposed amendments at two sessions as is done in so many states. Others would require that a measure have a certain number of well-known and responsible sponsors who could post a considerable sum of money which would help pay election expenses if the measure were defeated.

It is no harder to amend the California constituent document than to pass an ordinary statute. In fact, it is far too easy for some types of amendments, although the progressive would argue that it is the safest way to keep the constitution abreast the changing conditions and needs of the times. All this results in the constitution becoming filled with statutory material, and in hampering



seriously the Legislature and, especially, the administrative officers.

Our country is seriously imperilled by the apparent apathy of enfranchised men and women. Direct legislation was adopted with the belief and confidence that the real cure for the ills of government was a more immediate participation by the average citizen in all governmental processes. Democracy in a republican form of government depends for its continuance on public opinion able to cope intelligently with the problems which present themselves for solution. Emotionalism and misrepresentation must be avoided. Our institutions rest for their final security on the intelligence and self-restraint of those who are tolerant of the other fellow's opinion and liberty. Direct legislation in California has presented as many good proposals as bad. But the most important part of the process is that the issues are separately and thoroughly stated. They are more easily studied and are voted upon more directly and accurately than as if they were lumped in a party platform and voted wholesale. The bizarre schemes whose weaknesses are exposed by the searchlight of publicity and discussion are given a hearing along with the minor corrections and oversights of former laws, as well as the fundamental constituent provisions. If it were not for this perennial mixture of the good and the bad, we might not have the same high participation in elections and our institutions would suffer from apathy and disuse. It is always amusing to Californians to see the frantic efforts of various sections of the country attempting to interest voters in their duty at the polls and raising the percentage of votes cast to total registration to around 50, compared with the 60 to 75 to which their state is accustomed.

California, in her twenty-five years of experience with direct legislation, both in state and in local affairs, has proved that the people are thoroughly interested in registering and voting their opinions on matters of vital concern. Students of government would probably agree after an examination of this experience that Theodore Roosevelt was prophetic in saying, "The majority of the plain people will day in and day out make fewer mistakes in governing themselves than any smaller body of men will make in trying to govern them."



# AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD JAPAN AND CHINA, 1937-38

By QUINCY WRIGHT and CARL J. NELSON

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**T**he Chinese Cultural Society of New York published in October 1937 a reprint of thirty-nine editorials from American papers on the Far Eastern crisis. The editor, M. Hsities Lin wrote in the foreword: "Of some 5,000 editorials which have been examined, there is none that justifies Japanese aggression or condemns Chinese resistance. In the American press Japan is almost universally treated as the aggressor and China as the victim in the undeclared war. As to American policy, the press generally favors neither extreme isolationism nor political entanglements or alliances, but a golden mean, whereby world peace, it is hoped, may be maintained."

The present study is designed to test the validity of this impression as well as to test the utility of a method of attitude measurement by press sampling.

The method here used is described in an article by James T. Russell and Quincy Wright in the *American Political Science Review* for August 1933. The attitudes of China toward Japan and of Japan toward China during the years 1931-1933 were there studied. One representative statement was used from each editorial appearing in the selected newspapers, and the relative intensity of the attitude expressed by these statements was judged by the method of equal-appearing intervals. All the statements found were divided into eleven groups, the first group containing the

most hostile statements, the sixth group those statements which were judged to be neutral, and the eleventh group those statements which were most favorable. An effort was made to divide the groups so that the difference in intensity of attitude in adjacent groups was equal throughout the length of the scale.

In the present study this method is applied to the measurement of attitudes in the United States toward China and Japan during the period from January 1, 1937, to March 1938. The newspapers used were the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Daily News*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. The results of the study are shown in Figures II and III.

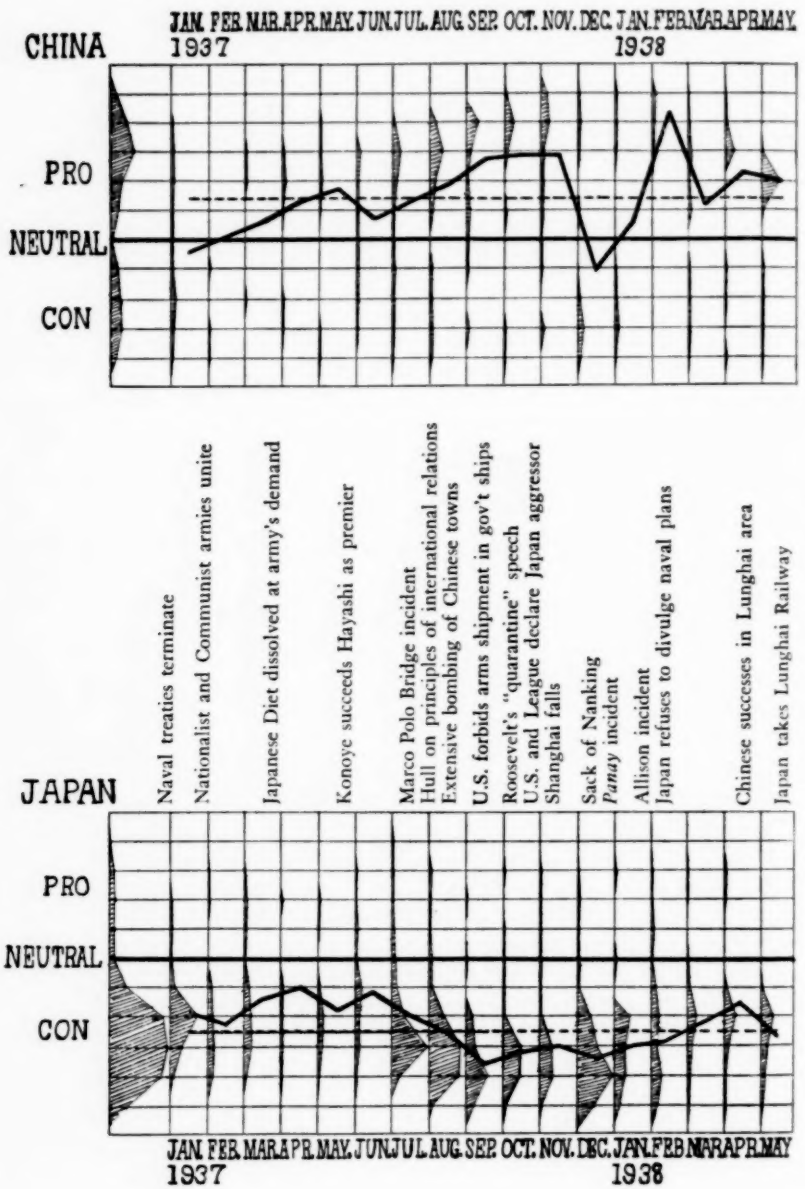
#### NEWSPAPERS AND PUBLIC OPINION

It is assumed that the opinions expressed in these papers give some indication of the attitudes of the public that reads them (partly because the editors succeed in giving the public what it wants, and partly because the editorial opinions, expressed in the papers, influence the public), and that in so far as the three papers are alike they give some indication of the attitudes of the American people toward China and Japan during this period.

If these assumptions are correct, the study indicates that the average American attitude from January 1937 to March 1938 indicated in Figure I was distinctly unfriendly to Japan and somewhat less distinctly friendly to China. These attitudes were not homogeneous in any month. At all times some opinions were being expressed both favorable and unfavorable to both countries, the dispersion on the whole being greater with respect to China than with respect to Japan. Nor were the average attitudes persistent from month to month. The unfriendliness to Japan became more intense after hostilities with China began in July, but after the settlement of the *Panay* incident in December, attitudes toward Japan tended to be less unfriendly. Average attitudes toward China in general followed the reverse course.

While the three papers manifested a certain similarity, the attitudes expressed by the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Daily News* were more homogeneous and persistent than were those

FIGURE I: Composite Index of the Three Papers



expressed by the *Chicago Tribune*. In fact, the attitude of the latter toward China was extraordinarily variable, the average being slightly unfriendly.

From a juridical point of view, the attitude of a neutral toward contending states should be impartial until it has been determined through an accepted international procedure that one or the other is the aggressor, in the sense that it is engaging in hostilities contrary to its international obligations. It cannot be said that the American attitude followed this course. The graph indicates that American opinion was not impartial at the opening of hostilities, and while the increasing hostility toward Japan and friendliness toward China may have developed in part from the impression that Japan was juridically in the wrong, it does not appear that the definite determination of this point by the League of Nations on October 6, 1938, publicly endorsed by the United States on the same day, influenced American opinion to become more hostile to Japan and more friendly to China, in fact, the attitude of some of the papers moved in opposite directions at this time.

#### **"UNDERDOG" AND "BANDWAGON" SENTIMENT**

In the present state of international organization, the attitude of a neutral toward belligerents is probably influenced less by juridical considerations than by two opposing sentiments which may be called the "underdog sentiment" and the "bandwagon sentiment." A neutral, because of humanitarian feeling for an invaded people, and perhaps also because of the self-interested wish that the two states may check each other and the balance of power may be rectified by the strong becoming weaker and the weak becoming stronger, is usually favorable to the underdog so long as the contest seems likely to last and there is little danger

NOTE FOR FIGURE I (opposite page)—Diagrams show composite index of American attitudes toward Japan and China as shown in the three papers: *New York Times*, *Chicago Daily News*, *Chicago Tribune*. The shaded portion in the first column indicates the distribution of attitude statements during the seventeen-month period, and in succeeding columns the distribution of attitude statements for each month. The dotted line indicates the arithmetic average of attitude statements for the seventeen months, and the dark line the arithmetic average for each month. The statements in the middle are a few of the events in the Far East most emphasized by the American press.

of the neutral itself being drawn in. This sentiment may, with a sophisticated statesmanship, continue until the neutral enters the war to restore the balance of power.

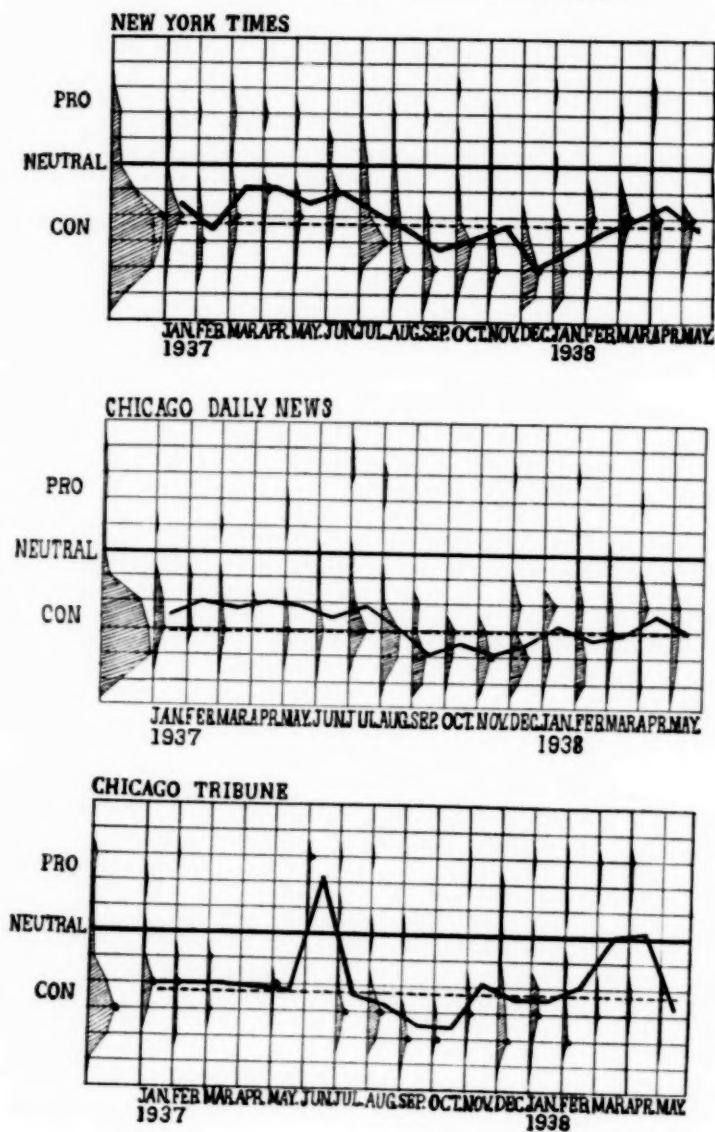
When, however, it appears that one side is about to win, there may be a shift, particularly if unsophisticated sentiment rules in the neutral state. Because of the neutral's desire to avoid incurring the enmity of a powerful and victorious state, the neutral may favor the probable victor, that is, give way to the bandwagon sentiment. Action upon this sentiment tends toward a disruption of the balance of power and is the reliance of empire-builders. It often plays an important rôle in elections, particularly in territorial plebiscites where persons, opposed to the probable majority, realize that to vote with the minority may be inconvenient if not dangerous to themselves in the future.

The diagrams here presented suggest the operation of these two forces. From July to December, when China was the underdog and there seemed to be no immediate occasion for currying favor with Japan, American attitudes toward Japan tended to be increasingly unfriendly and toward China increasingly friendly. On two occasions, however—first with the collapse of Shanghai in November, and again with the advance of Japan toward the Lunghai railroad in January—there seemed a prospect of speedy Japanese victory. The reverse turns in the graph at these times may indicate some influence of the bandwagon sentiment. The greater intensity of these movements in the diagram for the *Chicago Tribune* is what would be suspected from the less sophisticated sentiments suggested by the generally capricious attitude of this paper.

#### UNDERLYING ATTITUDES

Underdog sentiment or bandwagon sentiment are normal expectations of a neutral's reaction to the news of hostilities from day to day. The realization of these expectations is, of course, affected by the peacetime attitude of the particular state, now neutral, to the particular states, now belligerent, as well as by the spontaneous reaction to particular acts of a belligerent during the war.

FIGURE II: American Attitudes Toward Japan





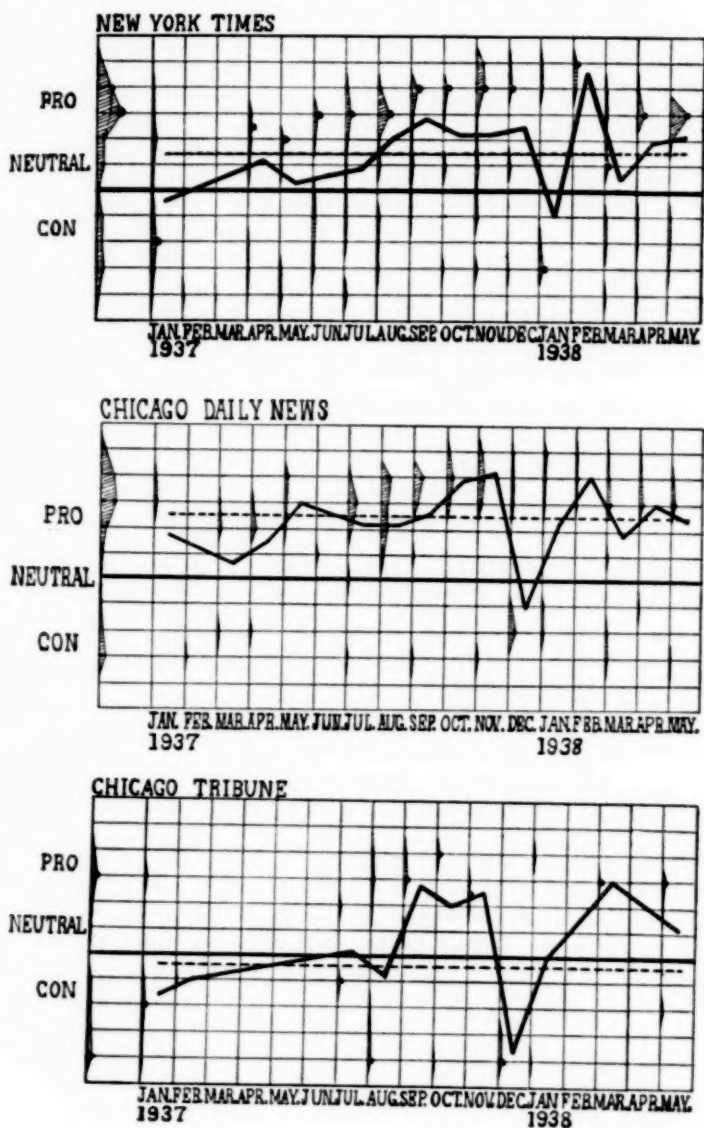
Descriptive studies have marshalled evidence to support, what every informed observer knows, that for a long time American opinion has been more friendly to China than to Japan.<sup>1</sup> The average attitude exhibited by these graphs doubtless resulted in some measure from this fact, while the extremely hostile attitude toward Japan in December was undoubtedly caused in part by the *Panay* episode, which directly touched American interests, though shock at the Japanese atrocities in Nanking seems to have been even more important.

By the repetition of certain statements, the three papers studied indicated normal or underlying attitudes unfavorable to Japan and favorable to China. Thus, before the hostilities began in July the *New York Times* emphasized the thought, "Japan's recent aggressive policy has failed and is unpopular even in Japan itself." China was represented as a country where the people were trying to unite their nation and protect it from external pressure. After July 1937, Japan was most frequently characterized as an actively aggressive nation, while China was a land of people bravely and determinedly defending themselves against terrific odds. The *Chicago Tribune's* underlying attitude seems to have remained, throughout, that Japan was a militaristic and unfriendly country. China was first represented as weak and chaotic, with many faults and few virtues. Because of the remarkable resistance it presented to Japan, the *Tribune* added that in spite of its chaotic inefficiency China was doing surprisingly well. The *Chicago Daily News* might fairly be said to have changed its underlying attitude so as to call Japan "frightful" instead of "aggressive," and to speak of China as "heroic" instead of as a country with "great possibilities." These underlying attitudes were reiterated frequently.

The policies of the three papers studied, with respect to isolationism and collective security seems to have had little influence on the attitudes toward China and Japan, but considerable influence on the selection of news. The isolationist policy of the *Chicago Tribune* did not produce a neutral attitude toward Japan

<sup>1</sup> See Eleanor Tupper and George E. McReynolds, *Japan in American Public Opinion* (New York, 1937); Paul T. Homan, "Must It Be War With Japan?" *Political Science Quarterly*, 5:173-185 (June 1938).

FIGURE III: American Attitudes Toward China



or China in the sense in which the term neutral is used in this study. The fact that its "average attitude" toward both countries during the period as a whole was hostile may have some relationship to its isolationist feeling, but it should be noted that during the months of September, October, and November 1937 the average attitude toward China expressed in the columns of the *Tribune* was distinctly friendly.

The general trends of attitude shown in the graphs are roughly similar for all three papers though the policies of the three papers were quite different in this respect. The *Chicago Tribune*, outspokenly isolationist, printed arguments against collective action to "quarantine" international law-breakers 121 times (4 in July, 15 in August, 10 in September, 41 in October, 21 in November, 16 in December, 3 in January, 7 in February, and 4 in March), even going so far as to advocate removing our diplomatic and consular officials as well as all military forces and civilians from the troubled area. The *New York Times* made practically no appeals for action one way or the other. The *Daily News* appealed hotly for a firm stand on the part of the United States, saying that the conflict already involved us; that Japan would have to be stopped sooner or later; that a weak policy was an invitation to further aggression, perhaps against the United States; that we could easily stop the invasion of China with the combined fleets of France, Britain, and the United States; that we could stop the invasion by cooperating with the League in enforcing economic sanctions, and that if such action involved us more deeply we ought to be prepared to take the consequences; that even alone the United States could and should end the conflict by use of Teddy Roosevelt's Big Stick. Such statements appeared 20 times (2 in August, 2 in September, 4 in October, 5 in November, 3 in December, 3 in January, and 1 in February) in editorials of the *Chicago Daily News*.

#### INFLUENCES ON NEWS-SELECTION

The policy of the papers in respect to isolationism or collective security appears, however, to have exerted a definite influence on

news selection and reporting. The "isolationist" *Chicago Tribune* allowed much less space to the Sino-Japanese affair than the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Daily News*. It gave very little prominence to reports of the bombing of civilians, to looting by Japanese soldiers, and made practically no mention at all of the terror in Nanking during the first two months of Japanese occupation, a period during which the *New York Times* filled many columns with description of the atrocities which were said to be taking place. The *Chicago Tribune* mentioned the "Stimson fiasco"—that is to say the Stimson protest to Japan against the invasion of Manchuria in 1931—twelve times during the fifteen-month period. This was presented as relevant news whenever United States intervention in the conflict was discussed, and each time it was explained that the United States had been "left out on a limb" by Great Britain. Although the *Chicago Daily News* surpassed both the other papers in running several series of articles on conditions in China and Japan, through which channels it was possible to express attitudes very effectively, it did not emphasize the sack of Nanking with nearly as much persistent reiteration as did the *New York Times*.

The number of attitude statements about Japan in each of the papers studied was several times greater than the number about China. Though considerable sympathy was expressed for China in its unequal struggle, the amount of attention paid to it was smaller. This may be taken as an indication that American newspapers, both "isolationist" and "internationalist" believed that Japan's expansion in the Pacific involved the United States directly, and that the struggle in eastern Asia was not merely a neighbor's quarrel in which we have certain sympathies. The collective-security advocates maintained that Japan is a menace to the United States and should be dealt with. The isolationists also considered Japan a menace to the United States, but insisted for that reason it be shunned. The two points of view are similar with respect to attitudes toward Japan, though the remedies suggested are different. These general indications from the form of the graphs here presented may be amplified by consideration

of the subject matter of comments in the various papers as hostilities progressed.

#### ATTITUDES IN NEWS STORIES

It was not possible to limit the present study to attitude statements in editorials as has been done in other similar studies. Only fifty-six editorials on the Sino-Japanese conflict appeared in the *New York Times* during the whole period covered. Editorial comment in the two other papers was even more rare and irregular. Therefore it seemed necessary to use attitude statements found anywhere in the paper. It seemed probable that attitudes expressed in news reports, feature articles, and Sunday news summaries were quite likely—though perhaps not certain—to represent the views of the publishers and editors as exactly as the editorials themselves. To make certain that this was true—that there was close correspondence among attitudes expressed in news reports, feature articles, and editorials of a given paper—the statements from the *New York Times*, after being collected as a group and divided according to the intensity of the attitudes expressed, were tabulated separately into four series, according to whether the statement appeared in an editorial, a daily news report, a Sunday "News of the Week" section, or in a feature article of the *New York Times Weekly Magazine*. The average attitudes and trends in attitude computed from the separate series were then compared.

Such comparison of the four series showed editorials to be most sharply concentrated at a single modal attitude, but also proved that the general distribution and dispersion was very similar in all four series. It was concluded that all the series are reasonably consistent with each other, with the possible exception of statements of attitude taken from the Weekly Magazine. These last were therefore eliminated from the index. Attitude statements from news articles and editorials have been intermixed to form the indices shown in Figures II and III.

#### WHAT IS AN ATTITUDE STATEMENT?

A "purely statistical" problem which, however, has considerable bearing on the reliability of the method of attitude

measurement used in this study has to do with the relationship between attitude statements and all statements. Are attitude statements actually different from non-attitude statements? Or are attitude statements merged with all statements in a continuous series, with intense positive or negative attitudes at one extreme, neutral attitudes closer to the center, and statements totally innocent of attitude at the other end of the scale? In that case our index of "average attitude" would be profoundly influenced by our arbitrary decision as to where to draw the line between attitude and non-attitude statements. The more broadly we defined attitude, the more statements of "neutral" attitude would we include, and the closer to neutral would the average be.

In order to guard against this possibility, the broadest possible definition of attitude was used. A note was made of every statement which brought an emotional response—subjectively speaking—even if the statement concerned was merely a statement of fact such as "*Panay* machine-gunned while sinking" or "Three hundred civilians killed by Japanese bombs." Of the 934 statements thus collected, 120 of them defied classification. That is to say, while each of those statements caused the judge subjectively to feel certain twinges of emotion, some favorable and some antagonistic toward Japan or China, it was impossible for him to decide whether the attitude of the writer was hostile, neutral, or favorable. This supported the conclusion that—except for the effect of the judge's own attitudes upon his decisions—attitude statements are distinct from the mass of statements as a whole.

#### **"FACTS" VS. ATTITUDES**

The reservation stated in the preceding paragraph regarding the effect of the judge's own attitudes upon his decision as to whether a statement is favorable, hostile, neutral, or non-attitude, leaves the door open to the suggestion that a Japanese judge would have rated many statements hostile which were here rated neutral, favorable, or non-attitude. He would probably have done so on the grounds that a more favorable statement was avoided where the "truth" demanded it. According to the definition prac-



tised in the present study, the term "attitude statement" implies the use of "emotional" words and of statements or "rationalizations" which are not in accordance with or which go beyond the evident "facts" of the situation. Therefore one's conception of the "facts" influences profoundly one's judgment as to whether a statement is or is not an attitude statement, and how it should be classified.

From a time near the beginning of the present hostilities in China, American reporters referred to the Japanese as "the invaders." This term soon became part of the unemotional vocabulary of the Sino-Japanese topic, and it was impracticable to count it as an expression of attitude although its use clearly designates Japan as the aggressor according to a definition which has had wide currency. (Another example of "attitude terminology" is the designation of the government forces in Spain as Reds or Loyalists. It is sufficiently rare in the United States to apply the term Reds so that its use might properly be counted as an expression of attitude, but does use of the term Loyalists in the news columns of the *Chicago Tribune* imply a favorable attitude toward the government faction in Spain? Subjectively, the missionary is aware of an attitude of love towards his subjects, yet he considers them "heathen.") Here we face the problem of the relationship between attitudes of which we are subjectively aware because of their accompanying emotions, and beliefs which are not accompanied by emotions because we take them for granted, but which, nevertheless, are attitudes in the objective sense of the term because they predispose us toward certain actions under certain possible conditions.

It is impossible here to enter into a discussion of the relationship between beliefs as to facts and emotional attitudes such as are measured by the indices we have used—except to suggest that attitudes, which are at first accompanied by emotions, may in time become beliefs regarding "facts" which are taken for granted. The distinction drawn above, between underlying and temporary attitudes, is consistent with this theory. It seems likely that the underlying attitudes are those which have begun to approach the

status of "facts" in the minds of the persons concerned. Probably at the present time the underlying attitude that Japan is dominated by the military is—for most Americans—a "fact" the statement of which involves little or no emotion. Yet in 1931 when the American public first discovered that the army could ignore the apparent intentions of its civil government the "fact" was greeted with consternation and was repeated as an accusation.

#### AVERAGE OR MOST FREQUENT ATTITUDE

The question may properly be raised whether the modal attitude—the attitude most frequently expressed—is not a better measure of attitude than an arithmetic average which takes into account all isolated expressions of attitude no matter how erratic. The mode for each month has been marked—by a dot—on the charts shown in Figures II and III. It will be observed that the trends indicated are very similar and that the fluctuations are generally exaggerated by using the mode as the index of attitude.

In the interests of standardization of the subjective scale by which attitudes are measured a list is appended of some of the statements which were classified as representing various degrees of friendliness or hostility. They are listed in Appendix I beginning with the most hostile. Appendix II tabulates the number of attitude statements about China and Japan in each of the papers.

#### APPENDIX I

##### Illustrative List of Attitude Statements, Classified According to Intensity

###### *Most Hostile*

CLASS I. Japanese bombed Hankow, Nanking, Canton, etc., all in a blind fury due to their inability to penetrate Shanghai's defenses.

The unrestrained cruelties of the Japanese are to be compared only with the vandalism of the Dark Ages in Europe or the brutalities of medieval Asiatic conquerors.

Japan is plainly intoxicated by her victories.

CLASS II. The Japanese are copyists, with little inventive ability and no sense of humor.

War may be war, but the Chinese feel that the element of sportsmanship should also enter, a fact which the Japanese are unable to conceive.

The Chinese suffered a major defeat due to their inexcusable blunder in concentrating 400,000 men around one city and then permitting the Japanese practically to encircle them.

Neutral observers believe the burning of Tsingtao was to a great extent another Chinese "grand gesture," an outlet for rage and frustration.

CLASS III. The world has made the mistake of considering China a nation instead of a loosely knit aggregation of ill-governed provinces.

Japanese education puts minds into straitjackets thus presenting to most of the rest of the world a Japan far less attractive than Nippon could have been.

To frustrate Chinese unity under a government independent of Japanese dictation, not to curb communism—Japan prosecutes relentless war against Chiang Kai-shek.

Bigger warships depend on Japan.

CLASS IV. Steadily Japan has alienated neutral opinion.

The abandonment of the struggling Chinese just when they seemed to have half a chance may prove to be a case of excellent judgment. A victorious China would not stop short after dealing with the Japanese. All foreign concessions and privileges would go.

There was a general tendency on the part of the Chinese to lag and rest on laurels.

CLASS V. Some of the statements of the Japanese spokesman, made in a formal press interview, heavily strained credulity.

#### *Neutral*

CLASS VI. Both governments realize that nothing is to be gained by either side from such a conflict.

There is some question as to Japan's desire to make war in Central China.

CLASS VII. There are many ways for Japanese economic cooperation to benefit China.

The change of the Social Mass Party to Naziism is accepted as another example of the instinctive uncritical unity which the Japanese nation, like every other nation develops at war.

With unrelenting determination but with little enthusiasm the Japanese people are settling down for a winter campaign.

CLASS VIII. The Chinese were not winning the war up to two weeks ago. They have not lost it in the last two weeks. There is no "collapse" of China.

China is climbing slowly and painfully up. She is acquiring more confidence.

The armies of Japan have proved in four months of swift campaigning their great superiority to the ill-equipped hordes of China.

CLASS IX. Children's eyes in China so often are full of gaiety and zest which make one painfully remember the hard Chinese poverty under which such excellent human material is oppressed, and feel increased confidence in China's future.

Democracy has not been extinguished in Japan. Japan still has its political parties and its parliament intact.

The Japanese are not quitters, and now that the ordeal by battle has begun they will see it through.

CLASS X. China, whatever its weaknesses, is a cultured and civilized nation.

All have been as one in expressing keen admiration for the valor and stubborn resistance of the Chinese.

To date China has refused to abase itself. Nanking must also consider public opinion and not give in to Japan too servilely.

#### *Most Favorable*

CLASS XI. In sheer heroism the Chinese soldier is a match against any soldier in the world.

## APPENDIX II

### Attitude Statements about Japan

|        | <i>New York Times</i> |                  | <i>Chicago Daily News</i> |                  | <i>Chicago Tribune</i> |                  | <i>Totals</i> |                  |
|--------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
|        | Number                | Average Attitude | Number                    | Average Attitude | Number                 | Average Attitude | Number        | Average Attitude |
| 1937   |                       |                  |                           |                  |                        |                  |               |                  |
| Jan.   | 38                    | 4.5              | 23                        | 3.5              | 22                     | 4.0              | 83            | 4.1              |
| Feb.   | 17                    | 3.5              | 5                         | 4.0              | 12                     | 4.0              | 34            | 3.7              |
| March  | 34                    | 5.1              | 11                        | 3.7              | 10                     | 4.0              | 55            | 4.6              |
| April  | 15                    | 5.1              | 1                         | 4.0              |                        |                  | 16            | 5.0              |
| May    | 21                    | 4.5              | 11                        | 3.8              | 4                      | 3.75             | 36            | 4.2              |
| June   | 31                    | 4.9              | 13                        | 3.4              | 4                      | 8.25             | 48            | 4.8              |
| July   | 72                    | 4.0              | 31                        | 3.9              | 20                     | 3.6              | 123           | 4.0              |
| Aug.   | 58                    | 3.5              | 46                        | 3.1              | 33                     | 3.3              | 137           | 3.4              |
| Sept.  | 33                    | 2.7              | 28                        | 2.1              | 16                     | 2.5              | 77            | 2.4              |
| Oct.   | 43                    | 3.1              | 15                        | 2.5              | 7                      | 2.4              | 65            | 2.8              |
| Nov.   | 20                    | 3.4              | 23                        | 2.2              | 11                     | 4.2              | 54            | 3.0              |
| Dec.   | 51                    | 2.0              | 40                        | 2.5              | 37                     | 3.5              | 128           | 2.6              |
| 1938   |                       |                  |                           |                  |                        |                  |               |                  |
| Jan.   | 40                    | 2.7              | 26                        | 3.2              | 24                     | 3.5              | 90            | 3.0              |
| Feb.   | 21                    | 3.4              | 38                        | 2.7              | 17                     | 4.0              | 76            | 3.2              |
| March  | 30                    | 3.9              | 17                        | 2.9              | 6                      | 6.9              | 53            | 3.8              |
| April  | 25                    | 4.5              | 19                        | 3.6              | 6                      | 6.2              | 50            | 4.4              |
| May    | 23                    | 3.6              | 24                        | 3.0              | 4                      | 3.25             | 51            | 3.3              |
| Totals | 564                   | 3.8              | 371                       | 3.3              | 233                    | 4.4              | 1176          | 3.5              |

# Attitude Statements about China

|        | <i>New York Times</i> |                         | <i>Chicago Daily News</i> |                         | <i>Chicago Tribune</i> |                         | <i>Totals</i> |                         |
|--------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
|        | <i>Number</i>         | <i>Average Attitude</i> | <i>Number</i>             | <i>Average Attitude</i> | <i>Number</i>          | <i>Average Attitude</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Average Attitude</i> |
| 1937   |                       |                         |                           |                         |                        |                         |               |                         |
| Jan.   | 23                    | 5.6                     | 3                         | 7.75                    | 7                      | 4.4                     | 33            | 5.6                     |
| Feb.   | 1                     |                         | 1                         |                         | 1                      |                         | 3             |                         |
| March  |                       |                         | 5                         | 6.6                     |                        |                         | 5             | 6.6                     |
| April  | 9                     | 7.2                     | 6                         | 7.5                     |                        |                         | 15            | 7.3                     |
| May    | 7                     | 6.3                     | 6                         | 9.0                     |                        |                         | 13            | 7.7                     |
| June   | 15                    | 6.6                     | 1                         |                         |                        |                         | 16            | 6.7                     |
| July   | 21                    | 6.9                     | 13                        | 8.2                     | 5                      | 6.2                     | 39            | 7.3                     |
| Aug.   | 24                    | 8.0                     | 22                        | 8.2                     | 11                     | 5.5                     | 57            | 7.8                     |
| Sept.  | 18                    | 8.7                     | 15                        | 8.6                     | 7                      | 8.7                     | 40            | 8.7                     |
| Oct.   | 10                    | 8.3                     | 9                         | 9.8                     | 4                      | 8.0                     | 23            | 8.8                     |
| Nov.   | 31                    | 8.3                     | 12                        | 10.2                    | 2                      | 8.5                     | 45            | 8.8                     |
| Dec.   | 6                     | 8.5                     | 13                        | 4.9                     | 7                      | 2.4                     | 26            | 5.0                     |
| 1938   |                       |                         |                           |                         |                        |                         |               |                         |
| Jan.   | 8                     | 5.0                     | 6                         | 8.3                     | 3                      | 7.0                     | 17            | 6.5                     |
| Feb.   | 7                     | 10.6                    | 3                         | 10.0                    |                        |                         | 10            | 10.4                    |
| March  | 14                    | 6.5                     | 12                        | 7.8                     | 1                      | 9.0                     | 27            | 7.2                     |
| April  | 14                    | 7.9                     | 9                         | 9.0                     |                        |                         | 23            | 8.3                     |
| May    | 28                    | 8.1                     | 8                         | 8.4                     | 6                      | 7.2                     | 42            | 8.0                     |
| Totals | 233                   | 7.5                     | 144                       | 8.3                     | 52                     | 5.8                     | 434           | 7.4                     |

# THE VOLUME OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN CHICAGO

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From the birth of the American Communist Party in Chicago in 1919 Chicago has been one of the chief radiating centers for Communist propaganda in the United States. Although the political capital of the Party was removed to New York about 1924, and the Mid-West center declined in national importance, it has always remained a stronghold of the Party. During the period with which we are concerned, Chicago continued to be an active relay center for propaganda directed from Moscow, and an important congregating center for Party specialists.

Chicago's peak as a consumer of Communist propaganda originating either locally or externally was in 1932. This statement rests upon the data which are critically summarized in this report.<sup>1</sup> Since there are no accepted methods of measuring the volume of propaganda, it has been necessary to invent procedures for this purpose.

We have defined propaganda as the manipulation of symbols to influence controversial attitudes. In accordance with such a definition, the propagandist may be defined as one who spends at least a certain quota of his time in the deliberate dissemination of contentious symbols. It must be emphasized that this excludes all who unwittingly transmit these symbols.

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgment of material aid is hereby made to the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago. Technical assistance was received from David Blumenstock. The entire report on world revolutionary propaganda in Chicago will be published by Alfred A. Knopf early in 1939.



Within a given area and period, there is mostly a positive correlation between the volume of propaganda circulated in a given community and the number of persons engaged in circulating controversial symbols. In addition, there is an even closer correlation between volume of propaganda and the total amount of time spent in the circulation of these symbols. In the present article we shall attempt to discover the changes in the volume of Communist propaganda circulated in Chicago between 1930 and 1934 by an examination of the changes of the two factors just mentioned.

These factors will be presented by two indices: the *Promotion Index* and the *Promotion Hours Index*.

The Promotion Index represents the number of persons, in proportion to the entire number in the community in question, who spend at least a certain quota of their time in propaganda.

The Promotion Hours Index represents the number of hours, in proportion to the total number of waking hours lived by the population of the community, which are devoted to propaganda.

It is out of the question to expect to arrive at thoroughly accurate measurement of the volume of propaganda. Nothing is to be gained by minimizing the discrepancy between what is most desirable and what is available. What is too easily and too often done is to give the *impression* of exact knowledge about the size of propaganda operations by assembling an imposing exhibit of details. But details may be voluminous without being informative. They bear on the question of propaganda volume only when they are relevant for the determination of *how many people* spend *how much time* and *how many resources* spreading symbols which come to the attention of *how many persons* during *how much time*? In the present article we shall seek to construct a *Promotion Index* and a *Promotion Hour Index* which will answer the first two questions.

#### PROMOTION INDEX

In order to measure the quantity of Communist propaganda circulated in Chicago during depression years, it is imperative that we ascertain the number of persons deliberately engaged in the

circulation of Communist symbols. After having determined the number of persons so engaged for each year, we can compute the annual promotion index by weighting these figures with the yearly population estimates for the city. In this way it will be possible to obtain an index whose fluctuations are presumably positively correlated with the fluctuations of the volume of propaganda.

In determining the number of promoters of Communist propaganda, we have arrived at two possible sets of figures. These we have called the *Crude Promotion Index* and the *Refined Promotion Index*. The former is based upon the total membership of the Party, on the assumption that every member is a deliberate disseminator of Communist propaganda. The latter, on the other hand, is refined to include only those members who hold positions which would require their extensive participation in propaganda activities. These latter figures include officers of the units, sections, and district, as well as non-functionaries engaged in the writing, speaking, or teaching of Communist ideology.

The promotion indices thus computed reveal the small proportion of the population which was engaged in the promotion of Communist propaganda during the years in question. Stated in thousandths of 1 per cent, the figures are:

|                         | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Crude Promotion Index   | 22.5 | 39.2 | 63.8 | 50.3 | 67.4 |
| Refined Promotion Index | 9.7  | 11.9 | 26.5 | 23.0 | 31.2 |

As indicated by the figures, 1932 was the year of greatest increase, and 1934 was the year of maximum participation. The rise in the number of Party members and functionaries in 1934, which is reflected in the above indices, resulted largely from the broadening of Communist policy as the separatist line of the World Congress of 1928 was gradually abandoned after the success of National Socialism in Germany.

As stated above, the Crude Promotion Index is based upon Party membership. The importance of this index is indicated by the fact that the Communists consider every member as an agent of Communist propaganda. The pamphlet, "Revolutionary Greetings," distributed to each new Party member reads in part as follows:

Now that you become a member of the Communist Party, the Party of Lenin, you have become the interpreter of the theory and program of the Party through your every day activities as a Communist. You become an agitator and organizer of the workers you come in contact with on the job. Your activity becomes representative of the Communist Party and its principles.

Communist Party membership in the Chicago district fluctuated greatly throughout the depression.<sup>2</sup> The greatest increase was in 1932, an increase which outstripped the rate of growth of the Party in the United States for that year. In general, however, the membership of the Party in Chicago constituted approximately 10 per cent of the national membership:

<sup>2</sup> Figures of membership in the Communist Party are not to be taken too literally, particularly for the earlier years. The Organization Department of the Communist International made the following statement to the Sixth World Congress (of 1928): "With regard to these figures (for 1924) it should be stated that at the time of the Fifth Congress, and in general before the reorganization on the factory-group basis, not a single Communist Party, except the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had any more or less satisfactory statistics on the fluctuations of membership. Thus, the figures characterizing the Communist membership at the time of the Fifth Congress are inaccurate and in all cases they are rather exaggerated."

In 1919 two groups which split off from the American Socialist Party christened themselves "communist": the Communist Party with about 27,000 members (26,680 reported in 1920) and the Communist Labor Party with approximately 10,000 members. In 1920 a group which was expelled from the Communist Party organized the Proletarian Party, which presumably had only a few thousand (and perhaps only a few hundred) members. In an effort to unify the several communist groups a United Communist Party was launched in 1920, but a split promptly occurred, and another Communist Party was founded (with between 3,000 and 4,000 members). In 1921 a great many new organizations were set up; finally in December, 1921, a Workers Party was established, with something over 12,000 members. An underground opposition group remained aloof and tried to create the United Toilers (party) of America; but this failed, and the opposition group itself disbanded after 1922. By October 1923, the Workers Party numbered 15,233 members; at the end of 1924, the figure was 17,363. The next years were years of gradual decline, and at the end of 1928 there were between 12,000 and 14,000 members, 9,300 of whom had paid their dues. In November 1928, a small Communist League of America (Opposition) had split off. In 1929 the Workers Party renamed itself the Communist Party of America. Another split led to the formation of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Majority Group) which claimed 1,000 members. In November 1931, a small Communist League of Struggle was built by a dissenting faction.

In 1919-20 the American Socialist Party was itself in favor of joining the Third International, and thus of becoming a communist party. Before the splits of 1919, the Socialists had 108,504 members.

Taking all of these facts into consideration it appears that the high-water marks of communist membership before the depression were the years 1919-20 and 1924-25.

|                         | 1930  | 1931  | 1932   | 1933   | 1934   |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| Chicago Communist Party | 761   | 1,356 | 2,249  | 1,756  | 2,381  |
| U.S. Communist Party    | 7,500 | 9,257 | 14,475 | 19,165 | 23,536 |
| Percentage              | 10.1  | 14.6  | 15.5   | 9.2    | 10.1   |

Although the number of Party members may serve for a Crude Promotion Index, it is readily admitted by Party leaders that the nominal membership is many times greater than the active group. This condition is sharply reflected in the large turnover which has constituted a major organizational problem in the Party. For this reason, we have refined the index by an analysis of the Party organization.

A study of the Party organization revealed that Party functionaries were found at three levels of organization: the district (which embraces Chicago), the sections (subdivisions of the district), and the units (basic divisions of the sections). The district organization as outlined in the Party Handbook of 1935 consisted of four bureaus, three committees, and two commissions. The section organization included one committee, one bureau, and one commission; whereas the units each maintained a separate bureau.

It is pertinent to note that the number of offices provided in this blueprint of the completed Party organization was far greater than the number of active Party members, and, in 1930, even exceeded the total membership. This relationship is clearly demonstrated by the following Office-Membership proportion:

|            | 1930 | 1931  | 1932  | 1933  | 1934  |
|------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Membership | 761  | 1,356 | 2,249 | 1,756 | 2,381 |
| Offices    | 858  | 954   | 1,541 | 1,438 | 1,909 |
| Percentage | 113  | 70    | 69    | 82    | 80    |

The high Office-Member Index indicates the elaborateness of the structure of the organization.

The limited number of active members required that they occupy more than one position of responsibility. Communist policy allowed and encouraged members to hold office simultaneously at each of the three levels of organization, and to hold two or more offices at the same level. It is extremely difficult to arrive at an accurate estimate of the amount of plural office-holding during any given year. However, on the basis of a number of documents giving

the composition of committees at various levels, we are able to compute an index which probably closely approximates the extent of this plural office-holding. This index shows that during 1930 the average functionary held 2.9 offices, during 1931 he held 2.4 offices; during 1932 he held 1.8 offices; and during 1933-34 he held 1.9.

These data are not completely reliable, since only sample lists of officials of somewhat uncertain representativeness were available. Field observations seem to suggest that the above figures underestimate the amount of plural office-holding; that is, they exaggerate the number of officials. This will tend to counterbalance the probable error incurred by our failure to include in our Refined Promotion Index the active Party members who do not hold positions as functionaries or as writers, speakers, or teachers.

Relying upon the above figures for plural office-holding, the number of functionaries in the Party may be computed for each year:<sup>a</sup>

|                         | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Number of Functionaries | 300  | 391  | 878  | 748  | 1012 |

There are types of Communist propaganda activities, however, which are not necessarily carried on by Party officers. Persons who are writers and editors, speakers, and teachers contribute directly to the volume of propaganda. Such persons usually operate through channels controlled by the Party. For example, the teachers included in our calculations are those who have taught during the depression years at the Chicago Workers School. Editors and writers, similarly, were those who contributed to the publications of Communist-controlled groups; while speakers and lecturers were those appearing at meetings of Communist or Communist-affiliated organizations.

The number of persons engaged in these forms of propaganda activity were as follows:

<sup>a</sup> These figures may appear contradictory to those above. Since no Party member may belong to more than one unit, there should be at least as many officials in the district as a whole as there are representatives in the unit bureaus. In point of fact, however, many nuclei existed only on paper. There is little doubt that the number of actual functionaries in the units was many times smaller than that indicated in the previous table.

|                     | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Writers and Editors | 50   | 46   | 55   | 78   | 51   |
| Speakers            | 51   | 64   | 96   | 87   | 122  |
| Teachers            | 5    | 8    | 22   | 24   | 29   |

Many of these persons, however, were functionaries of the Communist Party. In order to avoid duplication in arriving at the Refined Promotion Index, we eliminated the following numbers from the group just indicated.<sup>4</sup>

|                     | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Writers and Editors | 18   | 12   | 18   | 24   | 20   |
| Speakers            | 5    | 8    | 29   | 25   | 61   |
| Teachers            | 5    | 1    | 7    | 6    | 9    |
| TOTALS              | 28   | 21   | 54   | 55   | 90   |

When the remaining totals are added to our annual estimates of the number of Communist Party functionaries, we obtain what will be called the Refined Promotion Index (expressed in thousandths of 1 per cent):

|                         | 1930  | 1931  | 1932  | 1933  | 1934  |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Population (thousands)  | 3,376 | 3,458 | 3,523 | 3,491 | 3,530 |
| Promoters               | 328   | 412   | 932   | 803   | 1,102 |
| Refined Promotion Index | 9.7   | 11.9  | 26.5  | 23.0  | 31.2  |

These figures are the most accurate that can be obtained on the basis of existing data.

#### PROMOTION HOURS INDEX

More closely correlated with the volume of Communist propaganda than the Promotion Index is the Promotion Hours Index. This index is computed by comparing the number of hours spent in the preparation and dissemination of propaganda with the total number of waking hours available in the community.

In compiling such an index, we find ourselves on even more uncertain ground than in computation of a Promotion Index. Records of time spent in Party activities are practically nonexistent, and there is no way of accurately estimating the time required in the preparation of propaganda and its dissemination through the many channels used by the Party.

<sup>4</sup> Particularly in later years, some of these were undoubtedly not Party members.



It is possible, however, on the basis of available data on Party structure and membership, to arrive at figures indicating a maximum amount of time spent annually by Party propagandists which was certainly not transcended, and most probably not reached in reality. Such maxima will be designated as values of the Promotion Hour Index. They serve to depict the relatively limited extent of Communist promotion activity in Chicago.

In estimating the hours available for propaganda activities in the Party, promoters were classified as paid functionaries, unpaid functionaries, and other Party members. Speakers, writers, editors, and teachers, although independently considered in compiling the Refined Promotion Index, were for present purposes included in one or the other of these three groups.<sup>5</sup>

Only a small proportion of the functionaries of the Party were obligated to give full time to their Party work. On the basis of data available for three out of the five years, it has been determined that the number of persons on the Party payroll was three in 1930, four in 1931, and six in 1932-34. The small number of paid functionaries was a result of limited Party finances. A liberal estimate of the amount of time spent by these leaders in propaganda activities (excluding organizational work) is twenty hours per week, or 1,040 hours per year.

In the case of other officers, the time was less, as there were few Communists who had independent incomes which enabled them to devote full time to Party work. During the depression, however, the fact that a large percentage of the Party membership was unemployed tended to increase substantially the amount of time that active Party members devoted to the cause. For example, national Communist Party records show that in 1933 and 1934, there were respectively nine and ten full-time members in the Chicago District who were not on the payroll. They may not, in fact, have devoted full time to the Party throughout the entire year; however, their number, and the number of other officers who

<sup>5</sup> Such persons who were not Party members were disregarded because their number was small, and the amount of time they spent negligible in comparison with that of Party groups.

were able to give more time because of unemployment, increased the average amount of time devoted to propaganda work by the unpaid functionaries.

Taking these facts into consideration, together with estimates from field investigation, it is safe to say that the average unpaid functionary in the Party devoted not more than twelve hours a week to propaganda activities. This would amount to an average of 624 promotion hours a year.

Communist Party members (nonfunctionaries) devoted far less time on the average. As has already been explained, a large percentage of the Party was inactive. Although a small proportion of unemployed, nonfunctionary members devoted much of their time to the spreading of Communist symbols, it is safe to conclude that the average member devoted no more than three hours per week, or 156 hours a year, to propaganda.

On the basis of these time estimates, we may compute the maximum promotion hours for each depression year:

|                                   | 1930    | 1931    | 1932    | 1933    | 1934    |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Paid functionaries (at 20 hrs.)   | 60      | 80      | 120     | 120     | 120     |
| Unpaid functionaries (at 12 hrs.) | 3,576   | 4,544   | 10,464  | 8,904   | 12,072  |
| Other members (at 3 hrs.)         | 1,383   | 2,895   | 4,113   | 3,024   | 4,107   |
| TOTAL hours-week                  | 5,007   | 7,519   | 14,697  | 12,048  | 16,299  |
| TOTAL hours-year                  | 260,364 | 390,988 | 764,244 | 626,496 | 843,908 |

The Promotion Hours Index represents the number of promotion hours in proportion to the total number of waking hours lived by the community. On the basis of a sixteen-hour day, the following indices were obtained:

|                                     | 1930    | 1931    | 1932    | 1933    | 1934    |
|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Population (in thousands)           | 3,376   | 3,458   | 3,523   | 3,491   | 3,530   |
| Total waking hrs.-yr. (in millions) | 19,715  | 20,195  | 20,574  | 20,387  | 20,615  |
| Promotion hours per year            | 260,364 | 390,988 | 764,244 | 626,496 | 843,908 |
| Promotion Hours Index               | 1.32    | 1.94    | 3.71    | 3.07    | 4.09    |

The above Promotion Hours Index (which is expressed in thousandths of 1 per cent) shows the same general characteristics as the Promotion Index already presented. It shows the greatest increase during 1932, and the greatest actual volume in 1934.

It must be pointed out, however, that since an absence of data made it impossible to vary basic time estimates from year to year, no reflection is found in the indices of the fact that the general lure of activity of the Party in 1932 far exceeded that of 1934. Partially because of the demands made upon the Party for leadership during this outstanding year of unrest, it is probable that the time spent in promotion activities more nearly approached our maximum estimates in 1932 than in any other year. Thus it may well be that 1932 saw the absolute as well as the relative peak of promotion activity for the depression period.

#### RECIPIENTS OF PROPAGANDA

The Promotion Index and the Promotion Hours Index, though important criteria of the volume of propaganda, illuminate only half of the total picture. The spotlight must be shifted from those who act to those who are acted upon: from the Party promoters to those who pay attention to Communist symbols.

In order to measure the amount of attention, we have constructed two indices comparable to those used to describe promotion. The Attention Index represents the number of different persons, in proportion to the total population, who focus upon a given set of symbols. The Attention Hours Index compares the total number of hours bestowed upon such symbols with the number of waking hours lived by the entire population of the community.

The compilation of these indices is naturally an extremely hazardous task. It is virtually impossible to obtain quantitative information concerning the number of people affected by the many Communist channels and the amount of attention which they devote to symbols circulated through these channels. Even in the case of such tangible media as publications, the difficulties inherent in such a task are insurmountable. Communist publications are notorious for the irregularity of their appearance, and it is impossible to determine the number of copies of each issue of the many Communist daily, weekly, bi-monthly, or monthly newspapers, magazines, shop-papers, and pamphlets which were circulated annually in Chicago. Nor would our difficulties end were such

circulation figures available. For in order to construct Attention and Attention Hours Indices, it would be necessary to know the average number of readers per copy per issue of each publication, and the average amount of time spent on it.

Although it was impossible to construct satisfactory Attention and Attention Hours Indices for all channels of Communist propaganda, we have been able to construct, with a certain degree of accuracy, the indices for one important channel, the mass demonstration. The term "mass demonstration" includes four sub-channels: outdoor demonstrations, indoor meetings, parades, and "socials." Throughout the depression, these forms were consistently and effectively used.

#### ATTENTION INDEX

The Attention Index is defined as the number of persons, in proportion to the total population, who during a given period focus their attention on symbols of specified kinds for at least a certain (small) amount of time. In the case of the demonstration channel, such an index refers to the relationship between the net number of persons attending one or more Communist demonstrations during a given year, and the population estimates of that year. The following numbers indicate the annual variations in the Attention Index:

|                 | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Attention Index | .76  | 1.00 | 1.69 | 1.39 | 1.50 |

The outstanding difficulty encountered in the construction of this index was in obtaining sufficiently dependable estimates of the number of persons present at Communist demonstrations. There were a number of sources where attendance estimates were available. Such figures were frequently given in the Chicago press, and in the local and national Communist organs. Attendance was also recorded in the official records of the police for those demonstrations at which they were present. These sources were supplemented by the reports of our own field investigators.

The above sources frequently differed widely in their estimates of attendance. For example, on March 6, 1930, an outdoor demonstration was held at the corner of Halsted and Lake Streets. The

*Chicago Tribune* in publishing the news story, stated that 1,200 persons were present. The *Chicago Daily News* estimated 1,500. The following day, however, the *Daily Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party, appeared with the story that 50,000 demonstrators had been on the scene. Police records indicated that 550 persons were in attendance. Unfortunately, no field investigator was present to offer a fifth estimate.

Although the wide discrepancy frequently found in comparing the *Daily Worker's* with other estimates resulted from the fact that its figures were often published for propaganda rather than informative purposes, the variations among other sources reflects the difficulty of arriving at accurate estimates of the numerical strength of crowds. The crowd situation is apt to distort the judgment of the inexperienced observer.

The most realistic estimates were made by the police for their own use. Police officials in Chicago have had years of experience in judging the size of mass demonstrations. In addition, they took great care to obtain accurate estimates. In the case of parades, for example, observers stationed at vantage points recorded the number of marching columns. From these figures the total number of participants could easily be inferred, and such calculations were checked by the police against the amount of time required for the parade to pass. Thus, even when an actual count of marchers was not taken, police were able to make accurate estimates.

Whenever the official attendance records compiled by the police were available, these were accepted for our purposes. Estimates of attendance from other sources proved so unreliable that it was found necessary to restrict quantitative analysis to these official figures. On the basis of police records, average attendance was computed for each type of mass demonstration, and these averages were applied to the 2,088 demonstrations held between 1930 and 1934. Average attendance at each type:

|                        | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Indoor Meetings        | 222  | 139  | 167  | 224  | 313  |
| Outdoor Demonstrations | 371  | 334  | 336  | 336  | 457  |
| Parades                | 438  | 495  | 722  | 422  | 484  |
| "Socials"              | 307  | 349  | 451  | 564  | 671  |



By multiplying the above averages with the corresponding annual total of each type of demonstration, it was possible to calculate the total annual attendance at each of these four forms of Communist function:

|                        | 1930   | 1931    | 1932    | 1933    | 1934    |
|------------------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Indoor Meetings        | 39,738 | 26,966  | 39,579  | 46,816  | 59,470  |
| Outdoor Demonstrations | 18,550 | 44,756  | 57,456  | 48,048  | 53,926  |
| Parades                | 4,818  | 10,395  | 28,880  | 18,146  | 15,488  |
| "Socials"              | 13,815 | 20,591  | 53,218  | 27,636  | 30,195  |
| Total Attendance       | 76,921 | 102,708 | 179,133 | 140,646 | 159,079 |

These figures are as accurate as can be obtained. It must be remembered, however, that they rest upon estimates of attendance only at demonstrations attended by police. Since the police were most likely to appear at the better-attended occasions, the final figures tend to be above the actual totals. However, to some extent this was counterbalanced by the fact that estimates of the Chicago police were generally conservative: a fact often protested by the Communists. Another factor which tends to compensate for any exaggeration in the above data is the fact that police estimates included active participants only. In the case of outdoor meetings and parades, however, Communist symbols came to the attention of many additional thousands of persons who thronged the line of march or craned their necks from office buildings for a glimpse of the demonstrators.

Accepting these data, however, as sufficiently accurate totals of the number of people in attendance at Communist demonstrations, it must be remembered that the figures represent the *total* attendance, whereas our index calls for the *net number* of persons attending one or more Communist meetings in a given year. We must, therefore, estimate the average number of demonstrations attended yearly by participants.

A small group of persons identified with the Communist cause found most of their social as well as their political life in Communist functions. A high proportion of the total attendance figures was accounted for by this comparatively small group, a fact substantiated by any observer acquainted with the movement.



However, the balance was largely composed of persons on the fringe of the movement. The composition of this group was in continuous flux; that is, the net number of individuals composing it was great. Few of these persons attended more than one or two demonstrations.

Taking these two components into account, we have conservatively estimated that, on the average, a demonstrator participated in approximately three mass demonstrations per year. On the basis of this estimate, the net number of persons attending Communist demonstrations annually was as follows:

|                       | 1930   | 1931   | 1932   | 1933   | 1934   |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Net Number of Persons | 25,640 | 34,236 | 59,711 | 48,549 | 53,026 |

The probability of these results may be enhanced by comparing them with the attendance figures for the largest demonstration of each year. In 1934, for example, there were 14,000 persons participating in a parade on September 28. In view of this it is not excessive to assume that the net number of participants for the entire year was somewhat less than four times as large.

Despite the fact that we have kept our estimate of the average number of demonstrations attended by participants per year constant for the entire period under discussion, 1932 stands out clearly as the year of maximum participation. The prominence of this year would be even more evident if we had been able to vary this figure. As field investigations revealed, 1932 saw a maximum rate of turnover within the Party itself as well as on the fringe of the movement. This makes it probable that the average number of demonstrations attended by the participants declined substantially in this year; that is, that the net number of persons exposed to propaganda circulated through the demonstration channel increased correspondingly.

#### ATTENTION HOURS INDEX

The Attention Hours Index represents the relation between the total number of hours of exposure to symbols, and the number of waking hours lived by the community. In the case of mass demonstrations, this may be determined by computing the total time

spent at Communist outdoor demonstrations, indoor meetings, parades, and "socials," and weighting this figure with the number of waking hours in the Chicago community, calculated on the basis of a sixteen-hour day. The index computed in this manner showed the following magnitudes expressed in thousandths of 1 per cent:

|                       | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Attention Hours Index | 1.14 | 1.29 | 2.22 | 1.82 | 2.08 |

Since the average time consumed by different types of demonstrations varied greatly, it was necessary to consider these forms separately. We have already computed the total number of persons in attendance at each type of Communist demonstration:

|                        | 1930   | 1931   | 1932   | 1933   | 1934   |
|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Indoor Meetings        | 39,738 | 26,966 | 39,579 | 46,816 | 59,470 |
| Outdoor Demonstrations | 18,550 | 44,756 | 57,456 | 48,048 | 53,926 |
| Parades                | 4,818  | 10,395 | 28,880 | 18,146 | 15,488 |
| "Socials"              | 13,815 | 20,591 | 53,218 | 27,636 | 30,195 |

Earlier in this chapter we were interested in inferring from these figures the *net number of different persons* referred to in them. Now, however, we must use these figures in finding the *total number of hours* spent, irrespective of the number of people involved. To this end, it will be our task to estimate the average time spent at each of these types of meetings.

In written reports of Communist events, the police invariably stated the time when each meeting was opened and when adjournment took place. This information was part of the regular report prepared by the police for their own use, and was consequently available for all meetings which they attended.

On the basis of this information, as well as from field observation, we obtained figures as to the time consumed by each of a large number of outdoor demonstrations, indoor meetings, parades, and "socials." These figures were averaged, and, allowing a margin for error, maximum estimates were obtained of the average duration of each type of meeting. Differences between the various years were not sufficient to warrant consideration. Indoor meetings

averaged about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours; outdoor demonstrations, 2 hours; parades,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours; and "socials," 3 hours.

By multiplying the attendance for each year by these time averages, we arrive at the number of attention hours devoted to each type of demonstration:

|                        | 1930    | 1931   | 1932    | 1933    | 1934    |
|------------------------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|
| Indoor Meetings        | 139,083 | 94,381 | 138,526 | 163,856 | 208,145 |
| Outdoor Demonstrations | 37,100  | 89,512 | 114,912 | 96,096  | 107,852 |
| Parades                | 7,227   | 15,592 | 43,320  | 27,219  | 23,232  |
| "Socials"              | 41,445  | 61,773 | 159,654 | 82,908  | 90,585  |

Summing these, the number of Attention Hours bestowed upon Communist demonstrations as a whole was:

|                 | 1930    | 1931    | 1932    | 1933    | 1934    |
|-----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Attention Hours | 224,855 | 261,258 | 456,412 | 370,079 | 429,814 |

As in the case of the Promotion Hours Index, we must find the proportion of waking hours lived in the community which these totals represent. The Attention Hours Index thus obtained is expressed in thousandths of 1 per cent:

|                             | 1930    | 1931    | 1932    | 1933    | 1934    |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Population Est. (thousands) | 3,376   | 3,458   | 3,523   | 3,491   | 3,530   |
| Hours Lived (millions)      | 19,715  | 20,195  | 20,574  | 20,387  | 20,615  |
| Total Attention Hours       | 224,855 | 261,258 | 456,412 | 370,079 | 429,814 |
| Attention Hour Index        | 1.14    | 1.29    | 2.22    | 1.82    | 2.08    |

In 1932, both the relative increase over the previous year and the absolute value of the index was greatest, despite the fact that the average monthly membership in the Communist Party was smaller then than in 1934. It may be safely stated that the volume of propaganda, as measured by the Attention Hour Index, was greatest in 1932. In future studies it may be possible to use two sets of indices of attention. One, corresponding to what is here called the Attention Index, may be named the *Exposure* and *Exposure Hours Index*. The other, which varies with the interest displayed by the subject in the symbol, may be called the *Concentration* and the *Concentration Hour Index*. Some investigators may prefer to consider "interest" a result and not a dimension of propaganda.

# HALDEMAN-JULIUS HAS MADE PROPAGANDA PROFITABLE

By RAYMOND D. LAWRENCE

Raymond Lawrence, for nearly fifteen years newspaper reporter and foreign correspondent, has taught at Stanford University and the University of Kansas, and is now a member of the faculty of Ohio State University. This is one of a series of case studies that might be made of a number of personal journalists and publishers whose influence in crystallizing public opinion in the United States has been widely neglected by students of public opinion.

The interesting propaganda that emanates from the publications of E. Haldeman-Julius in Girard, Kansas, has in recent months crystallized about several campaigns. Thus, attention is called to one of the most prolific of the radical American symbol-manipulators. Five points of analysis present themselves: (1) quantity of propaganda disseminated; (2) ideas and symbols used; (3) personality traits of the propagandist; (4) media; (5) techniques.

## QUANTITY OF PROPAGANDA DISSEMINATED

Mr. Haldeman-Julius has produced and sold more than 200,000 books of the paper-cover type on a wide variety of topics. Despite the variety of subject matter, the ideas are nearly always those in respect to which he was desirous of manipulating readers' attitudes. In nearly twenty years he has put on the market 1,756 titles in the Little Blue Book series and approximately 400 titles in other series. On his list of book buyers, which is kept mainly for advertising purposes, there are the names of 335,000 persons distributed throughout the United States. The most direct diffusion of his ideas, however, is through the national circulation of the *American Freeman*, a personal journal with a circulation of 55,000. At least 140 titles a year are added to the list of books, this being approximately 2,100,000 words annually.

Circulation figures show that the most popular categories of books are: (a) sex, which includes love, marriage, passion, men,

women, birth control, etc.; (b) self-improvement, which includes better English, "education" in particular subjects such as psychology, philosophy, etc.; (c) free thought, which, according to the publisher, means for the readers "releasing themselves from the fetters of superstition, religious bigotry, and theological dogmatism." William J. Fielding writes most of the Haldeman-Julius books on what he calls "sexology." To January 1, 1938, sales of Fielding's works totaled 3,200,000, among the most popular being *Psycho-Analysis Explained* (278,000), *What Every Married Woman Should Know* (341,500), and *What Every Married Man Should Know* (312,000). Joseph McCabe, who is called the "world's great scholar" and who is a former Catholic priest, has been writing free thought, history, philosophy, science, etc., for Mr. Haldeman-Julius for thirteen years. Previous to this he had produced some 180 volumes for English publishers, so he obviously qualifies as an expert symbol-manipulator. He has forty volumes in the "Key to Culture" series and his seventy Little Blue Book titles have sold 1,800,000 copies. Mr. Haldeman-Julius believes that these figures show "the interest of the general readers in serious works by a scholar who never compromises with the reactionaries, the supernaturalists, and the obscurantists. I believe the above figures tell a wonderful lesson. They show that while falsehood dies hard, the truth isn't without its friends."

#### IDEAS AND SYMBOLS USED

A careful analysis of the millions of words produced and published by Mr. Haldeman-Julius reveals that the following symbols are highest on a frequency scale: supernatural, obscurantism, truth, suffering humanity, social justice, freedom, downtrodden and oppressed Jew, bunk and debunking, Fascism.

The manipulator's central and dominant attitudes concern the social system and religion. In respect to the former, Mr. Haldeman-Julius makes numerous qualifications, despite the fact that he started his journalistic career as a Socialist writer. Today no political label is accurate. He says:

As a social scientist I hope for the day of socialized industry added to industrial democracy—which means I'm a Socialist. In the world of ideas I prefer liberalism—that's to say, the free play of the mind, freedom of utterance, free press, free assembly, the right to petition the government, protection of minorities in their right to express themselves even when they're wrong. When I see the horrors of Fascism, I become a conservative democrat—that's to say, I want to do my share of the work of conserving democracy. I don't accept Communism because I believe in freedom and genuine democracy, but at the same time I consider myself an ardent friend of the Soviet Union, anxious to have the truth about it known to the world and desirous of seeing that great, constructive force permitted to advance towards real emancipation.<sup>1</sup>

As to religion, the symbols used are atheistic or materialistic. The manipulator rejects all theocratic and ecclesiastical ideas. He has devoted much attention to the propagation of minus-religious symbols. The plus-symbols in this field are those which come under the collective rubric of "science."

With symbols which may be grouped under the term "humanity," Mr. Haldeman-Julius recently has been conducting a vehement and vigorous campaign against cancer quacks. The channels used included the *American Freeman* and certain "debunking" books that affect the same attitudes. One man had been broadcasting from a Mexican station, after he had been prohibited from air time in the United States. This aroused Mr. Haldeman-Julius to action. He said:

I spotted him as one of the most brazen quacks in the history of the healing arts and obtained a bulletin on him from the American Medical Association. [He was familiar with the medical propaganda system.] Then I had at my disposal an evaluation that was based on logic, science and truth. With the material before me, and with a question from one of my readers asking me for the facts about this man, nothing remained for me to do but to make use of the data. Had I put that collection of data aside I would have established

<sup>1</sup> The quotations herein used are from an interview obtained by the writer. The figures are those of Mr. Haldeman-Julius.



myself, in my own mind, as a quack editor. The public interest demanded that I tell my readers the awful truths about this notorious character who makes his fortunes by exploiting the dying. *I did the only thing my nature permitted—I let loose with both fists.*

It's true that two large libel suits followed—and they're pending. But even if I had known in advance that such suits would result from my exposure, I would have gone ahead just the same, for I knew I was right in what I wrote, and I would rather go down in ruin than stultify my press.

I used vigorous language in branding this charlatan, but the circumstances demanded simple, straight, blunt speech. I didn't intend to pull my punches, nor do I intend to quit now. So long as this quack continues to promote his fake cancer cure, so long will my press be used to warn suffering humanity against his disgraceful business of palming off a lot of quackery in the name of sound science. I would consider myself miles beneath him had I permitted myself to suppress the simple truth about his vile way of raking in tremendous amounts of money from dying victims.

Moral fervor, indignation at popular deception, a strong feeling of identification with humanity, and belief in the "truth" reveal themselves as motivations. Mr. Haldeman-Julius revises the familiar slogan into "Art for the people's sake." His craftsmanship (art), he says, is devoted to dissemination of ideas that he regards as important. He prefers to "write about man in the mass rather than individuals, which accounts for my continued dissertations on international problems, social wrongs, anti-Semitism, racial prejudice in general, religious obscurantism, Fascism, democracy, liberalism, free thought, mass education, and the like."

Acceptance of symbols relating to freedom, truth, social justice, toleration, and science is sought, while rejection is urged for symbols pertaining to religion, the church, "unscientific" activities in any field, Fascism, and anti-democratic ideas and procedures.

Born at Philadelphia in 1889 of Jewish parents, Mr. Haldeman-Julius soon acquired an admiration for his father's technical skill and his dry, sarcastic wit, but also a distaste for his father's place of business. It was from his mother that Mr. Haldeman-

Julius learned the manipulation of words and acquired a skeptical attitude. "She was the kind of person," he says, "who doubted everything and everyone. I look on her as the first debunker who ever came into my life. She could spot a shoddy idea as fast as she could catch the grocer trying to put over on her a tomato that was spotted."

The father was an expert bookbinder in the days before books were turned out by machines. Each volume was an individual job in which the father took pride. Of his father, Mr. Haldeman-Julius remarked:

When I was a little boy, in Philadelphia, I used to carry my father's lunch to him at his place of employment and when I arrived before time I took an immense interest in the way he went about the job of binding a book. When the machines came my father had to step aside, for he was too old to learn to handle thousands of books around noisy machines.

His personal enemy—the machine—turned out jobs that aroused him to quiet, muttering scorn. Little did he—or the little fellow who stood at his side—imagine that this hauler of bread, hot soup and boiled chicken would some day turn machines loose to make more than 200,000,000 books. I didn't like the smell of the place. The cooking glue made an awful stink. While the clatter of the machines destroyed the wonderful stillness of the old shops, that same monster banished the stink of the glue to a corner of the shop, from whence its odors hardly ever departed to offend the nostrils of one person who has always been supersensitive to bad odors.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius was the third child of six. The family income was about \$1,000 a year but through careful management of the mother the children were kept well fed and well dressed. As to formal education, Mr. Haldeman-Julius turned down an opportunity to attend high school and went to night school "so I could go into the world and make a little money. By this time—with three earners in the family—financial conditions eased considerably, though we were still too poor."

From the father's scorn for machines and the mother's skepticism Mr. Haldeman-Julius developed attitudes that conditioned his later propagandistic activities. His father, he says, "had the knack of disposing of great issues with a devastating sentence or phrase. When he disliked a person he had the actor's trick of merely repeating what the offensive individual said, with just enough artistry in the voice to make the objectionable one ridiculous in the eyes of all right-minded people."

The mother was the realist of the family and emphasized the practical aspects of life. Both the father and the mother read widely and the child was exposed continuously to books. "My father," Mr. Haldeman-Julius said, "could always dismiss something offensive by merely waving a hand and coining an epigram. My mother was given to bursting into a torrent of words—streams of hundreds of words—that would tear a fake idea or piece of bunk to shreds. She hated persecution, prejudice and oppression." In this relationship lies the explanation for future propagandistic activities in favor of toleration, freedom, truth, and reformation of the "unjust" *status quo*.

During his boyhood he devoted himself to extensive reading. "One book would lead to another, and as the years passed I became what even educated people described as well-read." Later he began writing endless pieces for the radical and labor papers, most of them being printed. After such free-lancing experience, it was not difficult to obtain a position on one of the radical newspapers. He says he discovered he would rather write than "do anything else in the world." He was fascinated by the written, rather than the verbal, manipulation of words. He is proud of the large volume of his writing. "If all my writings were gathered into a single set of volumes they'd take up as much room as the *Encyclopedia Britannica*." Mr. Haldeman-Julius is aware that his work is ephemeral, and he is too preoccupied with the present manipulation of collective attitudes to bother about literary effect. The following statement is worth noting:

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When I pass into oblivion, some crusty old bookworm centuries hence will come on my name—maybe, I say—and he may give me a tiny footnote somewhere, worded something like this: He always wrote what he felt, and when he and they passed on the dust of history settled on them for all time. Posterity will have to look to others. I am sorry to have to disappoint the countless millions who are still to come. Today's problems, today's people, today's ideas, and today's ideals are my instruments of literary production.

Here not only is a definite self-awareness but also a good definition of the journalistic function. Mr. Haldeman-Julius has worked on newspapers in Chicago, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, but the first newspaper on which he had a regular position was the old *New York Call* (Socialist). He says he has "never stopped my constant flood of words, words, words," and that he has written on nearly every topic—

. . . from learned essays on Bernard Shaw when he was only slightly known in this country to Mark Twain, from theater reviews to high-brow book reviews, from editorials to feature articles, from interviews with celebrities to pieces written on the jump in some police court, from foreign affairs to the political record of some inconspicuous alderman. And I always wrote with enthusiasm, for I enjoyed the experience. I'm not the kind of scribbler who ever got moony about his work. I went at it with both hands.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius defines the favorite word in his vocabulary ("debunk") as truth-seeking. He is trying to get at the "truth regardless of who gets hurt." Although he denies there is pleasure in exposing an individual, class, or some particular notion, he points out the "genuine enjoyment" of adding "to our store of knowledge." The following should be noted for its emphasis on "truth" and "humanity":

When the debunker seeks out the bunk and separates it from the worthwhile things of life, of thought, of behavior, and the like, he is serving humanity even though false friends of humanity—enemies, in truth—assail and malign him for his thankless endeavors. Bunk-shooters—in politics, religion, international affairs, commerce, the profes-

sions, etc.—hate the debunker because he uses his influence to let his hearers know the truth about persons and institutions they thought were over and beyond criticism.

Take, for example, a notorious cancer quack—of course, my pet aversion because of his policy of exploiting miserable, suffering humanity with a “treatment” that has been branded as a fake. If such debunkers can reach a large enough audience, his system of bunk will collapse. No bunk-shooter likes to be exposed as a charlatan, because he has definite economic reasons for wanting his own brand of bunk to be accepted as chaste, pious truth.

Comradeship is felt by Mr. Haldeman-Julius toward other “debunkers.” He refers to them as a “society” and as “becoming quite an institution.” Many of them are not conscious of their activities but “debunk” without knowing it, he believes. “I find that I draw on the work of sound, conscientious mortals who would be offended if they were called debunkers. They remove the bunk from the truth so naturally that they forget they are practicing debunkers, if they ever knew it.”

By “debunking” Mr. Haldeman-Julius conceives of himself as serving humanity. “Debunkers” seek the truth and therefore “they’re hated—and honored. Those who benefit by bunk want to see them gagged. Those who live by the truth look on them as benefactors. The debunker is always the friend of man.” The prestige of this type of service to humanity is enhanced by reference to famous predecessors, as in the following remarks:

Darwin was a debunker, for he showed that the facts of evolution played hell with Genesis. Ingersoll was a debunker, for he showed that supernaturalism can’t stand the light of logic and good sense. Voltaire was a debunker when he showed that the Catholic Church, instead of being the friend of man, was one of man’s worst enemies, if not the worst of all. Thomas Paine was a debunker when he showed that the Bible stories couldn’t endure the examinations of Reason. Our early geologists were debunkers when they showed that instead of being a mere 6,000 years old the earth is billions of years old, thus confounding our precious Fundamentalists. Other early scientists who insisted the earth is round also were debunkers, for they broke into

tiny pieces the old religious notion that the world is as flat as a pool table. Early doctors were debunkers when they showed that epidemics were caused by germs bred in filth instead of being expressions of God's displeasure with sinful humanity. A mariner was a debunker when he proved the world was round by sailing around it.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius considers that he has avoided being lured into romantic theorizing by radical symbols of expectation of the millennium. The utopian myth has no conscious part in his propaganda. He tries, he says, to keep his feet on solid ground and fight. "My simple words must always deal with this workaday world." Military analogies constantly appear in his discussion of himself; he often uses the metaphor of the warrior battling for the truth. To him "the pen is used as a weapon rather than a toy." "My worst enemy is the same old one I've been crossing lances with these decades—human stupidity." And he thoroughly enjoys the fight.

One other portion of these data is pertinent here: the environmental and ideological influences which led to intense convictions described as agnostic. Religion, as the theme of counter-propaganda, occupies so much of the energy of Mr. Haldeman-Julius that the following remarks are to the point:

When I was a schoolboy in Philadelphia, classes began each morning with the reading of a hefty passage from the Bible, a form of torture that caused me untold agony. Year after year I heard teacher drone the dull words, emphasize the crude supernaturalism and the result was I soon felt I was being exposed to a set of ideas that struck me as being loaded with superstition and unreality.

Then I came on Thomas Paine's great, devastating, eye-opening pamphlet, *The Age of Reason*, one of the greatest mind-liberating books ever written. But I always was a modest, unprovocative person, so I swallowed the teacher's dope without making a sound, but I went ahead and undid her missionary work by studying Robert G. Ingersoll, who, in those years, impressed me as a giant.

From there I went on to all forms of heterodoxy, especially religious and economic. [His radicalism has long been general.] I read Voltaire,



Gibbon, the Socialist press, and devil-minded writings in general. That early intellectual vaccination kept the cells of my brain immune to the diseases of supernaturalism.

I had no orthodoxy to throw off, for my home life didn't know piety. My parents weren't free thinkers, but at the same time they weren't the least bit religious. Like whiskey, my father could take it or leave it. In all my boyhood I don't recall a single religious discussion at home, pro or con, though my father would give expression to his indifferentism by a word or a gesture.

Later, I exposed myself to sounder doses of Atheism by attending lectures and debates at the Liberal League Sunday afternoon forum, where excellent critics of the Bible and religion in general held forth before large and sympathetic audiences of infidels and lost souls. I didn't go there to get rid of religious ideology but rather to buttress my early skepticism. I thus became anti-clerical as well as anti-religious, and I've been that way ever since—only stronger in my convictions.

Radical stimuli-situations were another important environmental factor. He attended numerous Socialist public meetings in Philadelphia. On this point he said:

Here I didn't hear much discussion of religious themes, except in private confabs. These tough-minded workers and professionals looked with suspicion on anyone who betrayed religious notions, though they didn't use their public meetings for such propaganda. Publicly they'd say religion was a private matter; privately they'd damn religion to hell, especially those who embraced that bastard conglomeration known in those days as Christian Socialism, a label that's used by today's Fascists in several European countries.

These lectures were of great value because they carried Economic Materialism into my intellectual and cultural life. They opened many new worlds to my young, groping mind, and I'm convinced that their influence has been strong during my entire working life as a writer on religion, politics, sociology, economics, government, history, clericalism, Catholicism and so forth.

In 1916 he married Marcet Haldeman, who was a writer and artist, prefixed Haldeman to his surname, and moved to his wife's

home town of Girard, Kansas, where his large printing plant is situated. Girard is a typical Kansas town of approximately 2,500 population. Its mores favor religion, strict "family" life, nationalism, patriotism, the profit system, and largely the Republican Party. Intellectual and cultural life is bankrupt except for the small group of Haldeman-Julius friends. As a professional atheist and radical, Mr. Haldeman-Julius is in direct antagonism to this setting. Toward his immediate environment he is aloof and scornful. Horrified Kansans might be more inclined to focus their aggressions on him if it were not for the fact that he is the owner of the largest business in town. In his newspaper Mr. Haldeman-Julius ignores local affairs, because they bore him, and devotes his attention to national and international subjects.

With such a background it was natural for Mr. Haldeman-Julius to turn to journalism and book publishing. He has never been interested in such verbalizing as public speaking or oratory; only the written word is attractive. "I prefer," he said, "not to discuss my ideas, especially to argue about them, for it's my habit to do my teaching by way of the printed word instead of the spoken word. Today I run away when I see an argument coming my way, but I find that I run in the direction of my typewriter, where I settle down to argue it out in an orderly, impersonal way."

#### MEDIA

The cheap, small book is the most extensively used channel of dissemination. The *American Freeman*, however, contains more explicit expressions. It appeals, Mr. Haldeman-Julius says, to readers "who believe in a free press, who support democratic ideals, who oppose Fascism, and who prefer a publication that isn't beholden to the country's economic royalists." It prints no news stories, and no news service is used. It is published monthly and the contents are entirely Mr. Haldeman-Julius's comments on questions sent in by readers. The only advertising is that for the Haldeman-Julius publications.

The list of book-buyers is rented to advertisers and propagandists. Most of the advertising is of the direct-mail variety, a

technique which Mr. Haldeman-Julius has developed to a high point of efficiency.<sup>2</sup>

The morgue, which is a repository for books that do not sell well, has revealed that the public does not want "large doses of highly colored propaganda," he says. He is using the term here to describe writing that "abandons reason and logic" and that "creates fanciful notions based entirely on the imagination." "The morgue also has taught me that the public does not want bunk if it can get the truth."

Books and short stories, which were written in collaboration with Marcet Haldeman-Julius, largely have the same effects as symbols used in journalistic channels. The most successful have been *Violence*, which is a novel based on a Negro lynching and is a plea for tolerance, and *Dust*, which is a realistic picture of life on a Kansas farm. Both have been extensively used in Russian Soviet propaganda. Circulation has gone well into the millions.

Common characteristics of Haldeman-Julius writings are: irony, tough adjectives, boldness of expression, a few prurient stories, and often words that must shock unsophisticated readers. He relies mainly on simple and vigorous diction. As to his "debunking" technique he said:

Here's So-and-So who says he can do so-and-so. The facts show that he can't do what he claims. The facts brand So-and-So as a bunk-shooter. That's all there is to debunking. But apply it far enough—in religion, politics, and the like—and you are undermining many sacred institutions, for the brotherhood of bunk-shooters is vast, strong, energetic, and frequently militant when it comes to defending its particular brand of bunk. Bunk and bank-books work together, and that's a powerful combination. Many men will fight and die for their purses. A bunk-shooter will let you attack someone else's bunk, so long as you leave him alone in the support of his own brand of bunk, but by and large he'd prefer that you showed proper respect for all kinds of bunk.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius has the journalist's sense of the striking and dramatic. The unusual and unconventional make-up

<sup>2</sup> Described in E. Haldeman-Julius, *The First Hundred Million*, New York, 1928.

of the *Freeman* increased the perceptive value of his stimulating situations. Although most of his books now are written especially for him, he still sometimes reprints classics, as he did during the earlier days of the publishing enterprise. This necessitated changing titles to increase sales. For example, de Maupassant's *The Tallow Ball* sold 15,000 copies in 1925 under this title. He changed it to *A French Prostitute's Sacrifice* and it sold 54,700 in 1926.

One pertinent point remains. Since his income puts him in the class of metropolitan newspaper publishers, does he think of himself as a businessman or as a disseminator of ideas? (The word "propaganda" was avoided.) The answers are significant because the financially successful radical propagandist in this country is almost non-existent. Mr. Haldeman-Julius often insists that he is a businessman, but that attitude persists only to the extent that he must operate a large printing plant and pay bills when they are due. He reveals that, after making both ends meet, his "business personality ends and a new one steps in—the editor and writer:

I don't believe I have ever compromised with my convictions in my entire editorial career. I have never hesitated to take the unpopular side in politics, economics, religion and education. I have been guided by only one idea—to issue literature that reflects the truth. As a matter of simple, good sense I'll always try to go about my job in such a way that my project will be solvent in a business sense. There's the businessman speaking. If that side of my make-up didn't function there wouldn't be an establishment going full tilt and turning out substantial quantities of printed matter devoted to the truth as one man sees it.

The "truth," it should be noted, has at all times been implemented by an effective journalistic and advertising technique; and the unusual fact remains that Mr. Haldeman-Julius has reached an unusually large audience in a cultural complex such as the United States. Propaganda also has paid.

# HOW TO USE A SPEAKERS BUREAU IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

By WILLIAM J. WALSH

William J. Walsh is secretary to the Finance Department of New York City. He served as campaign manager for James H. Fay, successful Democratic candidate for Congress from the 16th Congressional district, New York City, who defeated John J. O'Connor, Chairman of the House Rules Committee. Major Walsh has performed similar duties in many other campaigns. This article is based upon a comprehensive study, now in manuscript form, of the technique of political campaigning. This part of Major Walsh's larger study is of special interest to students of public opinion because it illustrates recent tendencies in the application of the Taylor system of technical efficiency to the machinery of party propaganda.

Much has been written about political strategy and tactics, but little or nothing has been written of the "pick and shovel" work that is actually necessary to put together and run a political campaign. Most people infinitely prefer the thrill of discussing what may be brilliant political coups, to the necessary drudgery of organization. Yet, the most astute strategy remains a scrap of paper, or only a mental reaction, unless there is an organization to carry it out. The person with experience in political campaigning will find here much that appears rudimentary. However, there is a vast difference between possessing comprehensive knowledge and experience, and actually crystallizing that knowledge and experience so that it can be put to profitable and effective use. Such a crystallization is herewith presented in its application to a Speakers Bureau. Its purpose is to furnish a guide so that all means and man-power available both before and during a campaign may be developed to the maximum benefit of the candidate and party.

It takes time, thought, skill and patience to organize a campaign headquarters with all of its subdivisions that will function effectively and minimize the usual waste and lost motion. Much that passes for vitality, energy and intensive business in a cam-

campaign headquarters is nothing but the feverish and hysterical merry-go-round that results when ill-laid or hastily improvised plans go wrong. The last-minute conferences, the feverish running about, the aimless waiting of droves of volunteers or subordinates are not signs of progress but of inefficiency, inexperience, and lack of foresight and planning. Such false and unnecessary emergencies rob the candidate, the party, and its workers of what they have a right to expect. When a candidate, or party, finds itself constantly in a position of having to make snap decisions or makeshifts, or of wondering where to place or how to use the potentialities of those wishing to help in the midst of a hotly contested campaign involving thousands of votes, then something is fundamentally wrong with that organization—lack of foresight and planning.

The plan of organization herein set forth has been prepared in great detail in order to guard against failure to use all the personnel and means available; to guard against failure to perform every necessary task; to insure that no important factors or details are neglected or overlooked; to bring about as much teamwork and coordination as possible; and to permit speedy action when unforeseen contingencies arise.

#### **CONCENTRATION OF EFFORT**

The objective of the Speakers Bureau is to reach as many people as possible with the most convincing speakers obtainable.

Obviously this means enlisting many speakers and arranging for many speeches, so that the Speakers Bureau, in accordance with campaign strategy, may quickly concentrate on an area and stress a particular policy. This necessity is frequently overlooked. Other speakers are not used sufficiently to this end and the candidate is booked for so many political meetings that he is physically and mentally exhausted to the point of being unable to devote himself to the major issues, strategy, and policy of the campaign.

The greatest and most insistent demands for the candidate's presence come from the leaders of his own party to appear before



their followers—most of whom are going to vote for the candidate anyway. Therefore, unless he is careful, the candidate will find himself worn to exhaustion persuading those already convinced.

Of course, the candidate must visit and speak in a large number of localities. But, without even considering the physical limitations of a candidate, his appearances must be absolutely limited to the number necessary to arouse the enthusiasm and sustain the morale of the rank and file of the party. In addition to the effect on those present, such meetings may result in profitable newspaper and word-of-mouth publicity. However, this must be weighed against the use of the candidate's time in other more profitable effort, such as winning over some newspaper editor, influential citizen or group, in study, or in some other effective occupation.

The head of the Speakers Bureau will be under great pressure and criticism from influential members of the party and others if he follows the above policy. This can be mitigated to a certain extent by clearly enunciating the policy at the inception of the campaign and by constantly reminding party leaders, workers, and others that the candidate knows and depends upon their loyalty; and by making up the candidate's complete schedule as early in the campaign as possible. Of course, arrangements must be made to alter the schedule to meet the changing political situation when necessary or expedient.

The Chairman of the Speakers Bureau is responsible for the efficient functioning of the Bureau; for its effective cooperation with the Research, Publicity, and other Bureaus; and for the efficient coordination of the divisions and sections of divisions within the Bureau.

For the purpose of accurate listing and clear description, the various functions and steps required to run a Speakers Bureau efficiently are hereafter described as "Divisions" and "Sections" of Divisions. This also is necessary for coordination within the Bureau and with other Bureaus of the campaign.

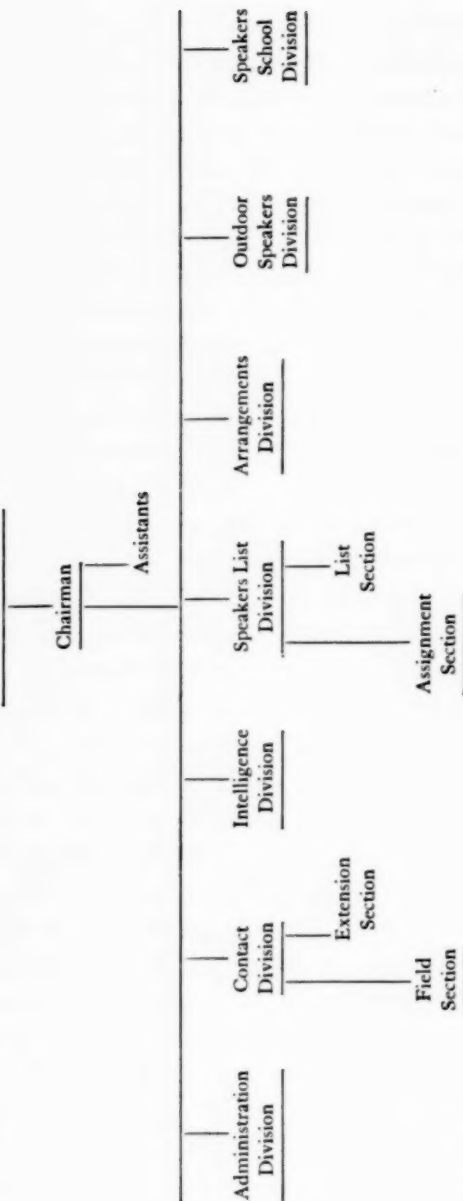
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## ASSEMBLY LINE PRINCIPLE

The following organization is based on the "Assembly Line" principle. Requests for speakers are processed on a form which proceeds mechanically and systematically from source to fulfillment. Each "Section" and "Division" of the Speakers Bureau performs a specific part of the process, and its particular job is not complete until the form is in the hands of the next "Section" or "Division" forward on the "Assembly Line." Therefore, a request is processed through the Divisions of the Speakers Bureau in the following order: Administration, Contact, Intelligence, Speakers List, Arrangements, and back to the Administration Division.

When a request for a speaker is received from any source, the Administration Division will assign a number to it in order of its receipt, on Form SB1 (see table), and fill out on this form as much data as it is able to obtain. Form SB1 is then forwarded to the Contact Division where it is checked to avoid duplication of effort. (Contact is trying to obtain as many requests for speakers as possible.) The Contact Division forwards the form to the Intelligence Division where more data are added. These data include the background, membership, type, and size of the group requesting the speaker; the group's probable interest; what speakers, if any, have already addressed the group or similar groups, and on what subject; estimated effect of the opposition on the group; and whether the function is a meeting, rally, luncheon, tea, dinner, conference, etc. The Intelligence Division forwards the form to the Speakers List Division, where, based on these data, the most appropriate speaker available is assigned. The Speakers List Division forwards the form to the Arrangements Division which makes arrangements for transportation, if it is available and considered necessary, and forwards the form back to the Administration Division which makes three copies—one copy to be given to the speaker, one copy to the Publicity Bureau, and one copy to be filed alphabetically by the Administration Division. The original form is filed numerically by the Administration

## SPEAKERS BUREAU



### FUNCTIONS:

1. *Administrative Division*: Performs all administrative and office work.
2. *Contact Division*: Seeks indoor meetings for speakers to address. *Extension Section* seeks organizations that might be addressed. *Field Section* secures their consent.
3. *Intelligence Division*: Obtains pertinent information about organization to be addressed, for guidance of speaker.
4. *Speakers List Division*: Supervises speakers list. *List Section* builds and maintains list of speakers. *Assignment Section* assigns most appropriate speaker.
5. *Arrangements Division*: Arranges details of meetings; assists organization to be addressed in arranging program; provides transportation for speakers; liaison between speaker and office.
6. *Outdoor Speakers Division*: Selects appropriate places for street-corner meetings; arranges and conducts them.
7. *Speakers School Division*: Trains speakers.

Division. The speaker's copy is to be returned to the Research Division after the meeting.

The personnel required may be one or a multitude, depending on the size of the campaign and the personnel available. In a small campaign, one person might man a Speakers Bureau, actually performing many of the functions himself, and, because of knowledge and experience, mentally execute the other functions. One person might handle several Divisions and Sections, or, in a big campaign wherein competent personnel is available, each Division or Section may be manned by a sizeable staff.

#### **ADMINISTRATION DIVISION**

The mission of the Administration Division is to handle administrative details of the Speakers Bureau, to assist in coordinating its activities within the Bureau, and to further cooperation with other Bureaus.

In addition to its part in receiving requests for speakers, as detailed above, the Administrative Division advises the inviting group of the speaker assigned, and sends a copy of the introduction prepared by the Assignment Section of the Speakers List Division. After the meeting, the Administrative Division receives from the speaker the SB1 form filled in with notation of the number of people at the meeting, the reception and estimated effect of his speech, and such comment as may assist in the campaign. The Administration Division forwards it to the Research Bureau.

The Administration Division receives all visitors, mail, and telephone calls when necessary, and directs them to the appropriate Division.

#### **CONTACT DIVISION**

The objective of the Contact Division is to discover every group which might profitably be addressed by a campaign speaker and to make arrangements with the group. To accomplish this objective, two missions must be carried out:

1. *Extension Section.* The function of this section is to discover the groups referred to above, and to obtain all pertinent

# FORM SB-1

No. ....

Date .....

NAME (organization holding function)

ADDRESS " " "

TELEPHONE NO. " " "

No. of Members .....

Speaker

Assigned .....

Address .....

Tel. No. ....

MEETING AT .....

No. Expected .....

MEETING

IN CHARGE OF ..... Address ..... Tel. ....

TRANSPORTATION .....

TYPE OF SPEECH AND LENGTH (also names of other speakers on program, and time allotted) .....

PROMINENT MEMBERS .....

## COMMENT:

Effect of opposition on group:

What the group is or might be interested in other than candidate and general issues of the campaign.

What candidate or party has done or plans to do that particularly affects group or locality in which it is located, or represents, such as public works, buildings, schools, playgrounds, parks, etc.

All connections and affiliations with the group, of the candidate, his representatives, associates or appointees, and any recognition given by the candidate or party to the group, such as appointment to public office, reward for public service, naming of streets, etc.

TO BE FILLED IN BY SPEAKER AFTER MEETING AND TO BE FORWARDED TO THE SPEAKERS BUREAU IMMEDIATELY:

Number actually present at meeting or reception.

Estimated effect of speech on audience.

Other information that might help in campaign.

Initialed by:

Admin. Div. .... Contact Div. .... Intell. Div. .... Spkr. List

Div. .... Arrangements Div. ....

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data that will assist the field men in carrying out their mission. This section works with the Extension Section of the Publicity Bureau, the mission of which is to discover every potential publicity outlet and medium. The data obtained are filled in on form SB1. When this section receives an SB1 form in process it files alphabetically the name of the organization or group, together with other information the Division desires. This file may be a card file, loose-leaf book, or a file of copies of the SB1 form. Some of the groups with whom arrangements can be made for campaign speeches are: Locality or neighborhood groups; chambers of commerce; boards of trade; civic, fraternal, and church organizations; professional societies, and labor unions; men's, boys', girls', and women's clubs; teacher and parent-teacher organizations; and debating, cultural and racial societies. The existence of many of these groups may be ascertained by a study of newspapers and neighborhood publications; lists and directories that are available in public libraries; and through committee members and members of the party (candidate) and their friends.

2. *Field Section.* The mission of the Field Section is to make arrangements for campaign speeches with the groups discovered by the Extension Section.

The Field man is a salesman. His prospect is the president, executive member, secretary, or influential member of any group before whom it would be advantageous for a campaign speaker to speak. The commodity for sale is constructive information about the campaign (candidate) delivered by a trained speaker in a brief and interesting manner. The speech should be of special interest to the particular group, its friends, and their families.

A determined and aggressive effort should be made to obtain personal introductions through committee members, members of the party and their friends. At the same time an effort is made to arrange for the placing of campaign publicity in the publications of the groups, if such media exist—this to be done in co-operation with the Extension Section of the Publicity Bureau. This section prepares letters to prospects (groups). Two samples:



MR. GEORGE SMITH,  
1164 Walnut Street,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR:

You can assist substantially in the election of our candidate for Governor, Richard Roe, and the ..... Party, by a few minutes' thought and a slight effort on your part.

You undoubtedly belong to, or have contact with, one or more groups or organizations such as locality, racial, foreign language, religious, fraternal, professional, civic, college, social, labor or other groups.

Therefore, will you please

(1) Make arrangements with one or more of these groups so that our campaign speakers may address them? Our speakers are trained and interesting and are prepared to speak on the issues of the campaign, the record of the candidate, or other subjects of special interest to a particular group.

(2) Arrange with one or more of these organizations, who issue periodicals, bulletins or such, for the publication of news articles and pictures that are of interest to their readers. This material will be furnished in forms usable by their printing facilities.

The enclosed form will be of mutual assistance in carrying out the above requests.

Thank you for your prompt and effective cooperation.

Yours very truly,

JOHN DOE

*Chairman, Extension Division, Speakers Bureau,  
of the Campaign to Elect Richard Roe, Governor*

GENTLEMEN:

Members of your organization may wish to hear first-hand information on the issues of the campaign, the record of the candidate, Mr. ...., and what his plans are that particularly affect your organization, its friends, and their families.

We are prepared to furnish your organization with a trained speaker who will explain how this campaign directly affects you.

The enclosed form, filled out by you, will bring to your organization such a speaker, who will address you on the particular phases of the campaign in which you are interested.

Yours very truly,

JOHN DOE

The effectiveness of these letters is greatly increased when followed up by personal or telephone solicitation, or both.

The Contact Division, after appropriate action, places the SB1 form in the hands of the Intelligence Division.

#### INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

The mission of the Intelligence Division is to secure information that will enable the Speakers Bureau to use its speakers most effectively in the areas that will produce the most beneficial results.

When a group requests a speaker, this Division secures as much of the following data as can be obtained so that the Speakers List Division may be guided in assigning the most effective speaker and so that the data can be put into the hands of the assigned speaker as quickly as possible. Form SB1 is filled out, and to it are attached mimeographed statements, releases or types of speech, issued by the Publicity Bureau, indicating the issue or subject that is at the time being emphasized or stressed.

The Division also maintains a map as a visual record of the actions taken and the actions planned by the Speakers Bureau.

Care must be taken not to clutter up the map with too much detail. However, a clear picture may be shown by appropriate use of transparent water-colors to indicate assembly districts or other political subdivisions, racial areas, concentrations of political parties, etc.; and by the use of pins with heads of different colors to indicate the candidate and other speakers of the different classifications; small squares of paper affixed to pins may indicate speeches already made; charcoal and different colored pencils may mark other useful information.

This Division keeps on hand census reports, reports of previous election returns and other pertinent data for use in connection with the map.

It also maintains another map similar to the above, indicating the activities of the opposition. Much of the required data can be obtained by a study of newspapers that report the activity of the opposition.

The Intelligence Division, after appropriate action, places the SBI form in the hands of the Speakers List Division.

#### **SPEAKERS LIST DIVISION**

The objective of the Speakers List Division is to obtain the services of as many speakers as possible, and to assign these speakers where they will be most effective. To attain this objective, two missions must be carried out:

1. *List Section.* The function of this section is to enlist the services of as many speakers as possible and to maintain a card-index indicating each speaker's background and particular qualifications. For example, a volunteer speaker may have knowledge of public work accomplished, planned or desired in a particular locality or of the derelictions of the opposition that adversely affect the locality. He may have considerable weight with fraternal, civic, social or religious groups. These facts are noted on his card.

This section prepares a list of prominent speakers who could help the campaign and who might be induced to speak on behalf of the candidate (party). These people can be approached personally or by letter, telephone, or through their friends who are members of the party, campaign committees, or of the campaign headquarters. A diligent and aggressive effort should be made to reach these people directly or through friends.

Additional speakers may be enlisted by sending word through the headquarters and committees that speakers are needed and that a Speakers School is functioning, and through schools, colleges, debating societies, and so forth.

Classification of most speakers will require personal interviews by a person or persons of judgment and experience. However, there will be many speakers who may be classified out of general knowledge or reputation without interview.

If a speaker is not in possession of a copy of the Speakers Handbook, the section supplies him with one as quickly as possible, together with mimeographed statements or releases issued by the Publicity Bureau, also (if available) copies of speeches that

indicate the issue or subject that is at the time being emphasized or stressed. With these data, the speaker is able to prepare and deliver a speech in accordance with campaign strategy.

2. *Assignment Section.* The function of this section is to assign speakers where and when their particular qualifications will be most effective in furthering the campaign.

This section receives from the Intelligence Division all requests for speakers, to which have been added such helpful data as the Intelligence Division has been able to gather. This section also acquires accurate knowledge of the list of speakers compiled by the List Section of the Speakers List Division and is familiar with their general and special qualifications.

When a speaker has been assigned, this section prepares a short introduction. This is a short résumé of the subject on which the speaker is to speak and a brief outline of his outstanding biographical data, accomplishments or distinctions of note, and affiliations or connections that would be of interest to the group requesting the speaker. This introduction is for the purpose of aiding the chairman of the function in introducing the speaker, and for the use of the Publicity Bureau. An original and three copies are attached to the SBI form—one for the Publicity Bureau, one for the Arrangements Division of the Speakers Bureau, and one for the Administration Division, which forwards it to the organization to be addressed. The original is filed with the original SBI form by the Administration Division.

The speaker learns from the SBI form if he is to be provided transportation, when and where he is to be picked up, or, if no transportation is to be provided, how to reach the place of assignment and how long the trip will take. If the speaker has been assigned more than one engagement, this section prepares an itinerary as far in advance as possible. This schedule must be carefully worked out so that the speaker shall have sufficient time to make his speech, leave the hall, and reach the next place of assignment. Allowance for time must be made for preliminaries on entering the hall, such as applause, the campaign song, appro-

priate greetings of personalities, and so on. A copy of this schedule is filed chronologically by the Administration Division.

The Speakers List Division, after appropriate action, places in the hands of the Arrangements Division the SB1 form to which are attached the original and three copies of the introduction and three copies of the schedule—if a schedule has been prepared.

#### ARRANGEMENTS DIVISION

This Division assists in the organization, preparation, and arrangements for meetings. It is prepared to furnish any or all of the following services when called upon to do so by the Chairman of the Speakers Bureau:

1. *Telephone Rendezvous.* Adequate personnel is placed at a sufficient number of telephones at headquarters or elsewhere, and two members of the Arrangements Division are assigned to the speaker and two to the meeting next on the speaker's schedule. Some ten or fifteen minutes before the next meeting, one of these men telephones headquarters the probable time of the speaker's departure. Headquarters then gives him information on the following points for the next meeting: Is the meeting place filled? estimated number of people present; attitude of the crowd (enthusiastic, cold or hostile); names of chairman, prominent persons present, and local candidates; other information of value to the speaker (candidate).

This information will have been telephoned into headquarters by the Arrangements Division man at the next meeting. He will remain at this telephone to receive a call from headquarters which will advise him of the candidate's time of departure. He then skips the next meeting on the schedule, and goes to the one following, telling the presiding officer there the probable moment of the speaker's arrival.

2. *Transportation.* Provides transportation when required, making a diligent effort to have the use of cars volunteered by members of the party, committees, the headquarters and their

**FORM C-1**

NAME

Address

Tel. No. \_\_\_\_\_

I herewith volunteer to assist in my available time in the campaign for the election of

JOHN W. MARTIN, MAYOR

- ☐ by joining (fill in name of committee) .....
- ☐ by public speaking
- ☐ by administration work
- ☐ by publicity and public relations work
- ☐ by typing, stenography, filing, office or executive work
- ☐ by organizational work
- ☐ by volunteering use of my car { with } driver
- ☐ by .....

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

A school of political campaigning for all who wish to attend is being conducted at Campaign Hqrs., 100 W. 42nd St., N.Y. City.

friends. The Division makes a card-index of transportation, with data indicating when and what kind of cars are available.

3. *Motorcade*. Coordinates the movement of a speaker's motorcade—with special attention to cars carrying the press.

4. *Police Escort.* Arranges for police motorcycle escort—if desired.

5. *Advice.* Consults, advises, and assists those planning a meeting.

If requested by the organization planning the meeting, the Arrangements Division also:

6. Hangs campaign posters in the hall or meeting-place.
7. Distributes or assists in the distribution of literature and volunteer cards (see Form C-1).
8. Assists in arousing the interest of organizations or groups in the neighborhood or others who might be interested in the meeting.
9. Submits sample announcements, handbills, throw-aways, etc.
10. Submits a list of suitable and inexpensive bands, or fife and drum corps, so that the campaign tune may be played.
11. Submits a list of companies that rent loud-speaker trucks.



12. Suggests such other speakers as might be effective.
13. Arranges for policing at the meeting.
14. Supplies ushers.
15. Advises on those invited to sit on platform.

The Arrangements Division after detaching a copy of the speaker's introduction and a copy of his schedule (if any) places the SBI form and attachments once more in the hands of the Administration Division with whom it originated.

#### **OUTDOOR SPEAKERS DIVISION**

The mission of the Outdoor Speakers Division is to have as many competent speakers as possible speak at busy street corners, public squares, and other similar places. In accordance with campaign strategy, the head of the Division arranges for the speakers to cover subjects that are to be stressed at the time, and to speak at points where they will be most useful.

Outdoor speakers use only the important issues of the campaign, important qualifications of the candidate, or the vital and important shortcomings or derelictions of the opposition. Speeches must be simple and delivered more emphatically and forcefully than in indoor speaking. Speakers must never use notes. They must know their subject thoroughly and be prepared to answer questions and to handle hecklers smoothly and diplomatically.

Outdoor speakers may speak from sound trucks, automobiles or stands. They work in teams or crews. Five men make a well-rounded team, and at least one should have had experience in this type of work.

#### **SPEAKERS SCHOOL DIVISION**

A diligent effort is made to obtain the volunteer services of teachers for the Speakers Training School. Prominent and experienced participants in the campaign are secured to lecture to the class from time to time. When students have reached a certain proficiency, they are given easy assignments and progress to more important meetings as their proficiency increases.

The school coordinates its activities with the schools of the other Bureaus.

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## RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Edited by HADLEY CANTRIL

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### REACTIONS TO PROPAGANDA ON BOTH SIDES OF A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE

By R. L. SCHANCK AND CHARLES GOODMAN

*Dr. Schanck is Associate Professor of Psychology at Louisiana State University and Mr. Goodman teaches Social Psychology at Pennsylvania State College.*

Most attempts to measure the effects of propaganda involve highly artificial techniques. In some cases the subjects are asked to forget the experimental situations and to respond naïvely. In other instances they are given scales to check before and after doses of propaganda. Such attempts, it seemed to the writers, vitiate the very telling point of propaganda or innuendo—its subtlety and indirectness.

Inspection of a badly constructed questionnaire suggested to the authors the possibility of creating an unobtrusive instrument of propaganda by deliberately perverting a questionnaire to prejudiced ends, i.e.,

a questionnaire appears as a fact-finding device rather than as a tool for affecting the reader's attitudes. A careful study of several questionnaires thus filled with innuendo indicated that the lay reader usually misses such bias. It seemed possible, therefore, to load a questionnaire in such a way that it might serve as a medium of indoctrination of individuals without their being aware of it.

The writers had desired for some time to test the effects of propaganda on both sides of a controversial issue as compared with propaganda presented on either side alone.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This study was carried on with funds granted by the Harvard Council for Research in the Social Sciences. The principal previous research on this subject to date has been done by F. Knower, "Experimental Studies of Changes in Attitudes," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 6: 315-47 (1935).

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Three questionnaires were constructed and then filled with masked innuendo. In Form A, all of the innuendo was suggestion favorable to Civil Service as a means of selecting public employees. In Form B all of the innuendo was in favor of selecting employees by patronage. In Form C an equal amount of the innuendo from both A and B was included.

In order to divert the attention of the reader from the innuendo a pseudo-task was set up on each page of the questionnaire. Thus page 1 appeared to be a test of the amount of information an individual possessed on the subjects discussed. Page 2 asked him to rate topics as to degree of importance. Page 3 asked him to indicate his degree of interest in the subjects discussed. But the real aim of the questionnaire

content was to prejudice the individual regarding appointment to public office.

The following section of Form C illustrates the points just discussed. It will be noted that a great deal of material irrelevant to the Civil Service issue is included to draw attention away from our propaganda aim.

The tests were first given to a trial group of Harvard and Radcliffe students to determine the utility for the aim proposed. After they finished the questionnaire they were asked to comment on it. In no single instance of the 200 cases did anyone report a feeling of having been propagandized, and there was no evidence of recognition in any of the reports of the distorted nature of the questionnaire.

Several homogeneous populations were then selected for the ex-

#### Questionnaire (Form C)

The following statements below are taken from newspapers and magazines. Please indicate in a check to the right of each statement your interest in the particular problem.

|   | <i>Greatly<br/>Interested</i> | <i>Slightly<br/>Interested</i> |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. School teachers should take an oath to the constitution. Our young people must not be taught corruption and radical ideas.   | _____                         | _____                          |
| 2. Civil Service builds an aristocratic bureaucracy, the employees are no longer responsible to the will of the people. Political appointees on the other hand try to please. | _____                         | _____                          |
| 3. Patronage, dealing out political jobs to party favorites, gave Tammany Hall in New York the power to rule against the people's will.                                       | _____                         | _____                          |
| 4. Cleaning and clearing the slums is a worthy project. The New Deal Program for low cost housing is a necessary project.   | _____                         | _____                          |
| 5. Our lawmakers must not become dictators. Assuming power not given in the constitution is a menace to the people's freedom.   | _____                         | _____                          |

### Attitude Test

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Please check your attitude:

Problem: There are two alternatives: 1. The political appointment system in which public offices are given to individuals upon recommendation of political leaders.  
2. The Civil Service System in which employment in public service is given on the basis of ability to pass a test.

I am in favor of Civil Service. Greatly\_\_\_\_\_ Slightly\_\_\_\_\_.

I am in favor of political appointment. Greatly\_\_\_\_\_ Slightly\_\_\_\_\_.

I have no interest in this problem. \_\_\_\_\_

I favor the use of one policy under some conditions and the other policy under other conditions. \_\_\_\_\_

I am almost entirely ignorant on the issues involved so am unable to decide. \_\_\_\_\_

---

periment. One-fourth of each population read a questionnaire loaded in favor of Civil Service, one-fourth read the second loaded in favor of patronage, one-fourth read the third equally loaded with prejudice on both sides of this question, and the last fourth read no material at all, but served as a control group.

The populations selected were: Boston High School students, Harvard and Radcliffe students, New York University students, and Washington, D.C., college students. The university students were mostly juniors and seniors with the exception of Harvard, where two groups, one lower class and one upper class, were utilized.

At the conclusion of reading the questionnaire each group was asked to take an attitude test on the issue at hand. The control group took the

same test without reading any material, so that it was always possible to compare the attitude-checking of the control group with that of the others. A reliable test of the effect of propaganda in the questionnaire is then the standard error of the difference between the percentages found checking the same attitude in the control group and any quarter group. Thus if 82 per cent of the control group were in favor of Civil Service, and 96 per cent of the group which read the propaganda in favor of Civil Service check the same attitude, we have a difference of 14 per cent. Is this a significant difference? We have only to compare it with the standard error of the difference between these proportions (which includes within it the size of the samples) to see if our difference is greater than a chance difference.



The possible attitudes that an individual might check after reading the questionnaire are shown in the accompanying Attitude Test.

The results given in the accompanying table indicate the percentage of each group who checked any possible attitude given in the attitude scale

TABLE OF RESULTS

| Harvard University Juniors and Seniors  |                           |                           |                 |                  |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
|   | Reading<br>pro-Civil Ser. | Reading<br>con-Civil Ser. | Reading<br>Both | Control<br>Group |
| 1. Favor Civil Service                  | .87                       | .57                       | .83             | .83              |
| 2. Favor Patronage                      | .05                       | .02                       | .02             | .03              |
| 3. No interest                          | .02                       | .02                       | .00             | .00              |
| 4. Some conditions one, some another    | .05                       | .28                       | .13             | .10              |
| 5. Ignorant                             | .02                       | .11                       | .00             | .03              |
| Number of cases                         | (39)                      | (52)                      | (61)            | (30)             |
| New York University Juniors and Seniors |                           |                           |                 |                  |
| 1. Favor Civil Service                  | .76                       | .70                       | .78             | .93              |
| 2. Favor Patronage                      | .00                       | .07                       | .06             | .03              |
| 3. No interest                          | .00                       | .00                       | .00             | .00              |
| 4. Some conditions one, some another    | .24                       | .19                       | .11             | .03              |
| 5. Ignorant                             | .00                       | .04                       | .06             | .00              |
| Number of cases                         | (29)                      | (27)                      | (18)            | (29)             |
| Washington, D.C., Juniors and Seniors   |                           |                           |                 |                  |
| 1. Favor Civil Service                  | .71                       | .62                       | .59             | .82              |
| 2. Favor Patronage                      | .03                       | .03                       | .03             | .10              |
| 3. No interest                          | .06                       | .00                       | .03             | .00              |
| 4. Some conditions one, some another    | .15                       | .22                       | .28             | .07              |
| 5. Ignorant                             | .03                       | .14                       | .05             | .00              |
| Number of cases                         | (32)                      | (37)                      | (34)            | (48)             |
| Boston High School Seniors              |                           |                           |                 |                  |
| 1. Favor Civil Service                  | .79                       | .75                       | .86             | .91              |
| 2. Favor Patronage                      | .03                       | .07                       | .06             | .03              |
| 3. No interest                          | .02                       | .02                       | .01             | .00              |
| 4. Some conditions one, some another    | .12                       | .12                       | .06             | .06              |
| 5. Ignorant                             | .03                       | .05                       | .00             | .00              |
| Number of cases                         | (91)                      | (89)                      | (81)            | (90)             |
| Harvard Sophomores and Freshmen         |                           |                           |                 |                  |
| 1. Favor Civil Service                  | .72                       | .78                       | .81             | .85              |
| 2. Favor Patronage                      | .00                       | .02                       | .08             | .04              |
| 3. No interest                          | .09                       | .07                       | .00             | .00              |
| 4. Some conditions one, some another    | .16                       | .13                       | .08             | .09              |
| 5. Ignorant                             | .02                       | .00                       | .03             | .00              |
| Number of cases                         | (43)                      | (45)                      | (36)            | (42)             |

above. Thus we are able to compare the percentage of any attitude given with any other. For instance, we may compare the section of the Harvard group which read propaganda favorable to Civil Service and still favored patronage, with the section of the Harvard group which read propaganda favorable to patronage and also checked the attitude pro-patronage. Or we may compare either of these samples with the control section of Harvard students who read no material at all. Or we may compare Harvard students with Boston High School students on the same attitude.

The results show certain things clearly: The control groups of each population indicated a high prejudice among college students in our country in favor of Civil Service and against patronage. The range of individuals of the various control groups who favor Civil Service is from 82 per cent to 93 per cent. The groups are arranged in the following order: New York University students 93 per cent, Boston High School seniors 91 per cent, Harvard juniors and seniors 83 per cent, Harvard freshmen 85 per cent, Washington, D.C., juniors and seniors 82 per cent. One could suggest, inasmuch as the students of Boston High Schools and of New York University are metropolitan students, Harvard students come from all over the

country and in Washington city government is non-existent, that individuals from cities where spoils systems are notorious are most prejudiced against it.

The general findings are quite in line with the results of the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) which showed the entire country to be heavily prejudiced in favor of Civil Service.

With every group except Harvard juniors and seniors, pro-Civil Service propaganda has a slightly negative effect. This effect is never statistically significant as measured by deviations from the control group. At least it is evident that hearing propaganda which favors your prevailing prejudice does not deepen the prejudice.<sup>2</sup>

The con-Civil Service propaganda failed to create any significant change in the direction of patronage. It did, however, have other significant effects. Upon the attitude scale, steps three, four and five, allow the

<sup>2</sup> Although the negative effect in the case of New York University students is equal to only two times the standard error of the difference between the two proportions (the propagandized section and the control section) the trend does suggest a problem; there may be groups who are so psychologically constituted that hearing an overdose of prejudice in the directions of prevailing prejudice may lead to negativistic tendencies. Experience with city college students leads the writers to feel that they are often overcautious about being "taken in" even by propaganda in favor of their own previous sentiments.

rater to indicate lack of interest in the question, perplexity about which side is right or ignorance of the whole issue. These might be called unsettled states. We find negative differences on step one between the control section and the propagandized section of each group: Harvard juniors and seniors 26 per cent, Washington, D.C., juniors 23 per cent, Harvard sophomores 24 per cent, New York University juniors 23 per cent, Boston High School students 16 per cent. Most of these differences are statistically significant, in the instances where the groups were large the difference being as high as five times the  $SE$  of the difference between the two proportions. The effect of hearing propaganda in the opposite direction of prevailing prejudice, then, is not to bias individuals in the opposite direction, but to create conditions of conflict expressed in ignorance, perplexity, and loss of interest in a question. The Boston High School students are least unsettled. Whether the upsetting nature of opposed propaganda is less in high school students than college students is a question, but the difference between the high school section and the nearest college section is considerable. The attitude taken most often by all shifting individuals in this instance is the attitude of favoring one system under some conditions and the other under different conditions. But the differ-

ence in percentage on this step on all groups as compared with their control groups is only two times the  $SE$  of the difference, so that we can only say that the whole shift under this effect is in the direction of unsettled attitudes rather than toward any specific attitude such as neutrality.

The propaganda on both sides of an issue has almost no significant effect on any groups except the Washington, D.C., students. There alone do we find that hearing both sides of the case leads to an increase in attitudes of perplexity. It is difficult to explain this single deviation, but this thought has suggested itself: the issue of Civil Service is a highly academic issue to most students except those in Washington, D.C. Usual student knowledge of the question comes from school texts or propaganda sources. One dose of propaganda evidently does not offset a prejudice already accepted, but it may be possible that where the issue is close to the lives of individuals, so that the details can be checked against private experiences, this is not the case. Washington students, hearing both sides, recognize truths as they hear them and report that there is much to be said on both sides of the case.

It would not be difficult to check this last suggestion by studying two issues, one remote from the lives of the group and one very close to its personal experience.

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# GOVERNMENT

Edited by HAROLD D. LASSWELL

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## PUBLIC RELATIONS OF NAVAL EXPANSION

By SIMON BOURGIN

*Mr. Bourgin was in the Washington office of the Foreign Policy Association in 1937-38. He is now connected with the Bureau of National Affairs in Washington.*

The history of the recently enacted Naval Expansion Bill suggests the development of a new technique in governmental relations with the press in the matter of securing public support for political policy.

The bill authorized the largest single increase in strength in American naval history. The decision to seek this increase was reached in the fall of 1937. The Administration had been forced to abandon temporarily, for lack of public support, the positive policy enunciated by the President at Chicago, and was pursuing a cautious, middle-of-the-road attitude toward events in the Far East. Public opinion, though plainly apprehensive of State Department attempts to curb Japanese aggression, reflected an

uncertain note, for sympathy with China was strong. Sentiment in Congress showed sharp divisions among neutrality supporters, advocates of sanctions, and old-line isolationists. But exponents of all these divisions of opinion, as well as others, joined in varying measure in criticizing the Administration's course.

Administration experts, weighing the effect of an increase in armaments upon domestic and foreign policy, studied public and Congressional sentiment carefully. Whether armaments expansion was to be tied to the drive for recovery, with the expenditure of several billion dollars to reemploy labor and stimulate heavy industry—a plan seriously discussed in November—or whether rearmament was to be employed more directly to implement a positive foreign policy would be determined by the temper of public opinion. So most Washington observers felt in the fall of 1937.

To the Congressional rank-and-file viewing the Far Eastern situation, the issue was not one of stopping the treaty-breaking powers but of keeping war-making power in the hands of the people. Less faith was placed in neutrality legislation as insurance against war, but increasing fear was felt that the attitude expressed in the President's Chicago speech and such ventures as the Brussels Conference might bring the United States into participation in a sanctions effort against Japan. Such measures as the Ludlow Resolution for a popular referendum on war, requests for withdrawal of troops from China, and embargo invocations against all belligerents were earnest representations of the prevailing attitude in Congress.

To the Administration, on the other hand, the test of any bill or resolution—in view of the heightening international situation—was frankly whether it would strengthen or weaken the hand of the President in dealing with foreign affairs. The favorite measures of the House "peace bloc" were regarded with increasing irritation as serving advance notice to potential treaty-breakers that the influence of the United States in world affairs could be openly discounted. Sentiment in Congress was known to be predominantly isolationist, however, and Administration advisers felt that an open debate upon the issues of policy

was to be avoided. Instead, sentiment in Congress and the country should be carefully weighed for signs of support for a more positive policy.

#### The "Panay" Incident

On December 12 the American gunboat *Panay* was bombed by Japanese. The affair at once stiffened American Far Eastern policy and gave new impetus to armaments expansion plans. Washington correspondents were impressed by the Administration's ability to add drama to an already dramatic situation for purposes of drawing public support to its policy. The immediate publication of such confidential documents as the private memorandum from the President to the Secretary of State, the "preliminary instructions" to the American Ambassador in Tokyo, and the wide publicity given to all negotiations with Tokyo seemed to many correspondents to be designed to serve a double purpose: to impress the Japanese government with the seriousness of the situation and to convince American public opinion of the necessity for a more positive policy against acts of treaty-breaking nations. Not a few newspapermen felt that the effect of tension and anxiety was somewhat artificial under the existing circumstances. An unusual statement issued by Stephen Early, one of the President's secretaries, informing correspondents that the affair would be dealt with on a basis of "national patriotism," and

urging the press and public to give the President undivided support, gave added weight to this impression.

The plan to tie armaments expansion to industrial recovery was permanently shelved. In late November it was informally made known to the press that the President would ask the convening Congress to increase the 1938-39 naval construction program beyond the normal allotment for the fiscal year. The size of the new program was not announced, but in Congressional circles discussion was already rife as to whether the increases called for in the regular Naval Appropriations Bill, approved by the Budget Bureau, December 11, the day before the *Panay* bombing, were intended to implement certain objectives of the Administration's foreign policy.

The latter increases constituted the normal "replacement" program laid down in the Vinson-Trammell Act of 1934, and called for construction of two capital ships, two light cruisers, eight destroyers, six submarines and four auxiliaries. Opposition in Congress was to center on the two 35,000-ton battleships, which, because of striking power and range of operations, seemed designed to implement an active diplomacy in the Pacific. Launching the new program with the dual object of strengthening American Far Eastern policy and maintaining the relative position

of the United States among the major powers, the Administration hoped still to postpone a full-dress debate on the aims of its policy. Presentation on Capitol Hill and in the press of a program designed to raise naval strength by approximately a fifth thus demanded careful synchronization: the issue of naval expansion must be geared to the exigencies of foreign policy opinion in Congress and among the public.

#### **Announcement Delayed**

The President's message to Congress on January 1, 1938, avoided reference to the Far Eastern conflict, declared the necessity of keeping the nation "adequately strong in self-defense," but made no direct mention of the new armaments program. Formal announcement came in Washington dispatches of January 5, reporting a conference between the President and the House leaders responsible for authorizations and appropriations for the navy. Newspapers noted that a horizontal enlargement of the navy to provide sufficient strength to cope with unsettled world conditions had been decided upon. The *New York Times* said that a special supplemental message upon the subject was to be sent to Congress "within the next few days. . . . Mr. Vinson is at work on a tentative draft of the bill which he probably will introduce Friday."



On January 9 dispatches from Washington asserted the message on armaments would be read to both houses within two days. Some correspondents added that following consideration of the authorization bill, which Representative Vinson had drafted and was ready to introduce, a deficiency bill containing appropriations for completion of three big naval bases on the Pacific was expected to be sent to the House. The correct forecast on this bill (which ultimately called for fortification of Pearl Harbor, Kodiak, and Kan-coche), plus the almost daily announcement to newsmen of the impending departure of the special message for Congress, intimates that the formula for naval expansion was already drawn up. Why was its submission to Congress delayed until January 29, almost three weeks later?

A study of Congressional and newspaper reaction to developing Administration policy suggests an answer.

On January 18 the regular Naval Appropriations Bill for the new fiscal year was reported by the naval appropriations subcommittee, and the House began debating the question of what battleships were for. Though little opposition was evidenced as to the size of the bill or any of its important features, an increasingly vocal section of the House declared its intention of barring fur-

ther naval expansion until the aims of the new program were revealed. Certain House members expressed open disbelief that the three capital ships, two aircraft carriers, nine cruisers, and the thirty-three additional warships and twenty-six auxiliaries called for under the new program were required for national defense purposes alone. The suspicion that the contemplated horizontal increase was meant to implement a more active Far Eastern policy was not lessened by the President's announcement on January 12 that economic ties with the Philippines might be extended to 1960, and by the Navy Department's announcement on the following day that three American light cruisers would attend the ceremonies at the opening of the new British naval base at Singapore on February 14.

#### Preparing the Public

With these sentiments prevailing, the protraction of the naval expansion issue meant, for the Administration, at least a partial preparation of the American people for the size of the increase and the issues of policy involved. And the passage of the largest annual naval supply bill since 1921 could only be complicated by simultaneous submission of a national defense message calling for a much greater increase. The *New York Times* correspondent on January 20 voiced the sentiment felt by

most Washington observers when he noted that opposition in the House was directed, not at the regular Appropriations Bill under consideration, "but toward President Roosevelt's forthcoming special naval message."

On Wednesday, January 26, three days before the delivery of the President's special message to Congress, much of its contents were revealed to the press. News dispatches from Washington on that date estimated the cost of the new program at close to a billion dollars, and pointed out that an approximate 25 per cent increase in naval ships of the various categories, as well as expan-

sion of the air arms of both the army and navy, would be included.

The protraction of the issue of naval expansion for almost a month after its fulfillment as a stroke of policy had been decided upon suggests a new technique in the public relations of national defense. During the interval public sentiment was perceptibly conditioned for a more positive policy in America's relations with the rest of the world. The largest single increase ever undertaken in the American naval establishment was accomplished with the minimum of suspicion over motives of policy and the maximum of progress.

## **WILL THE PUBLIC SUPPORT A MERIT SYSTEM? A PENNSYLVANIA EXPERIMENT**

By WILLIAM FOX

*Mr. Fox is an instructor in Political Science at Temple University. He gathered the material for this study while serving on one of the examining boards described in the article.*

Either by good luck or by shrewd planning or, more probably, by a combination of the two, the Employment Board for the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance has shown a way to solve some of the difficult public relations problems involved in extending the merit system of appointment in the civil

service. The board put on shoulders broad enough to bear the burden the responsibility of rating candidates on "those personal qualities which cannot be measured by written examinations." Simultaneously, it created 700 enthusiastic missionaries for the merit system in the field of social work. This was done by using strategically chosen representatives from the lay public in the oral examining process. The experiment is important because it transformed a cynical and suspicious public opinion into a more favorable one.

An antiquated structure of public assistance, resting on foundations as ancient as 1771, was thoroughly overhauled by the Pennsylvania General Assembly in 1937.<sup>1</sup> The new laws provided for personnel recruitment on a merit basis. In three respects, however, they showed the influence of patronage-minded members of the legislature.

(1) The law required that "... no applicant shall be required to have had any scholastic education in social service work, nor to have had any other special scholastic education or special training or experience."<sup>2</sup>

(2) Present job-holders (even those appointed on a non-political basis) were given no preference.

(3) Candidates were required to have resided in the county in which they sought appointment at least six months and in the Commonwealth at least one year before application.

#### Initial Skepticism

The kindest words said editorially about the merit provisions of the act were that "perhaps good administration could plug up the legal deficiencies."<sup>3</sup> Good administration, with attendant skilful public relations management, not only plugged up the legal deficiencies but buttressed the new service with a vigilant public opinion which will help protect it against the depredations of future spoilsmen.

In July 1937, Governor Earle under the provisions of the new laws appointed a three-man employment board. The chairman of the board was a Philadelphia lawyer with a wide reputation for integrity and civic activity. The two other members of the board had also been active in civic affairs. It was not until October 1937 that the board was able to hire a satisfactory executive director and set him to work with a skeleton staff.

This organization was to give examinations and certify lists of eligibles for the 5,800 positions in the service, and, for the majority of positions, to do this within four months. There were 62,000 applications for these positions.

While the examinations were being prepared, a "leak" in the Unemployment Compensation Board examinations (quite separately administered) was discovered.<sup>4</sup> Shortly thereafter, the state relief administrator, Karl de Schweinitz, resigned, alleging "politics" made it impossible for him to do his job efficiently. The employees whose tenure was

<sup>1</sup> Amendments to Administrative Code of 1929, of June 24, 1937 (P.L. 2003), and the following acts, all of June 24, 1937: County Institution District Law (P.L. 2017); Support Law (P.L. 2045); Public Assistance Law (P.L. 2051).

<sup>2</sup> Amendments, *loc. cit.*, at P.L. 2015.

<sup>3</sup> *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, December 28, 1937.

<sup>4</sup> *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, December 12, 1937.

jeopardized by the new laws naturally felt insecure and hostile, and their organizations protested violently.

These three facts, plus the additional fact that 5,800 jobs were being filled while a statewide election was in the offing, served to make an already cynical public doubly suspicious. The majority of the press, not unwilling to attack the Earle administration, did its part to fan the flames, e.g.:

At the Department of Public Assistance, where a "modified" merit system is also to be put into effect, considerable time is being spent on the oral tests. There the apparent objective is to devise a type of personal interview which non-professional applicants can pass at least as successfully as the trained social workers whom Democratic politicians are seeking to replace.<sup>5</sup>

The burden of proof clearly rested on the employment board to show that the examinations were being fairly administered. This it attempted to do.

### The Written Examination

Specialists from outside the state aided in the preparation of the written examinations, for which, as noted above, 62,000 persons applied and which were taken by 50,212. These examinations were of the "short answer" type and were electrically graded by new machines at the Educational Records Bureau in New York City. Publicity concerning the

objective nature of the examinations and the impossibility of bias in scoring stressed the fact that the papers were sent outside the state to be graded. Also emphasized was the elimination of fraud by requiring fingerprinting.

The next hurdle in the examination was the oral interview. This was given only to applicants who received satisfactory ratings on the written examinations. The number passing the written examinations was greater than had been anticipated and oral interviews had to be arranged for 10,397 persons. To examine individually in fifteen- to thirty-minute interviews so many persons was a gigantic task. When it was decided to use three-man or five-man boards of interviewers, the problem was made even more difficult. In Philadelphia alone, thirty-six boards of oral examiners were required at one time. The Employment Board for the Department of Public Assistance needed outside help.

It was a real problem to convince the applicants that the oral interviewing process was fair. Another problem was to convince a suspicious public, reading an even more suspicious press. It was decided:

- (1) That, so far as possible, each board should consist at least of one social worker, one personnel specialist, and one representative from the lay public;
- (2) That the oral interviewers should serve without compensation.

<sup>5</sup> *Harrisburg Telegraph*, January 15, 1938.

The social workers were recruited chiefly from nearby states. The personnel men were drawn from local industry and business and from professional groups within the state. Representatives from the lay public were chosen by a process which sought to insure that no single economic, social, religious, or racial interest would predominate. Special effort was made to avoid the selection of persons known to be active partisans in current Pennsylvania politics. The lack of compensation probably attracted more desirable citizens than it discouraged. It certainly eased the political pressure in the appointment of oral interviewers.

In recruiting the oral interviewers the first step was to appoint "coordinators," in each of the examining centers; these in turn selected the interviewers. After consultation with local non-political civic leaders, representatives of the State Employment Board drew up a list of men any one of whom would be satisfactory as a coordinator. At this point the local politician appears to have had his first and last chance to intervene. In some counties he was asked, directly or indirectly, if there were any names on the list to which he particularly objected. It would have been impolitic for him to object to men like the head of the local community chest, the president of the local church federation, or a local college president. If the county leader later com-

plained that the wrong people were giving the oral examinations, he was reminded that they were selected by a coordinator whom he had approved. In fact, the county leaders rarely showed any interest in the selection of oral interviewers, since the possibilities of patronage were so slight.

The procedure was flexible, but the coordinator usually formed a committee to assist him, composed of at least one representative from each county in his area. They made up a list of desirable citizens who were asked to participate. Ordinarily, these persons, whether or not they agreed to serve, were also asked to suggest additional persons. These in turn were investigated and, if found desirable, asked to participate. This process was continued until a large enough group was obtained. Not all persons suggested were asked to serve, since the purpose was to secure a cross-section of interests and, especially, to enlist persons commanding the respect of the taxpayer.

#### Value of Citizen Participation

From a theoretical point of view, strategic selection of citizens to participate in administrative decisions would ordinarily mean choosing persons whose psychological income ("prestige," "respect of the community," etc.) is high but whose



material income may be relatively low. Such persons seem to taxpayer and tax-consumer alike "neutral" and disinterested in the broader political question of determining how much shall be taken from those who have, in order to render services to those who have not. Since such persons receive their benefits from society in a coin which in America is not held generally to be the primary value, they seem to compete neither with the rich nor with the poor. In this particular case, there was special effort to have the taxpayer adequately represented, because his good will was likely to be much more difficult to win, and also because his good will was certain to be an important element in determining the success of the whole project. Of two persons otherwise equally available, the businessman was preferred to the college professor.

Tabulation of the occupations of the citizen oral board members showed a predominance of public school principals and superintendents, housewives who were either civic leaders or ex-social workers, and lawyers. There was a substantial number of bank executives, manufacturers, civil servants, college professors, clergymen, and editors.

The coordinators secured the services of 756 persons to sit on 212 boards of interviewers. These were classified as follows:

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Representatives from the lay public            | 440 |
| Social workers (135 from outside Pennsylvania) | 203 |
| Personnel specialists                          | 100 |
| Others (for special technical jobs)            | 13  |

It was necessary to conduct the oral examinations in such a way as to impress favorably both the interviewers and the interviewed. A carefully prepared sixty-page manual was sent to all oral interviewers in advance. It contained introductory material designed to impress the interviewer with the importance of the examinations and with the scrupulous care with which other parts of the examination were administered. The interviewers were warned not to rate individuals either on training and experience or on their apparent knowledge of the field of social work. They were told to test "personal qualities which cannot be tested by written examinations." The personal qualities on which the examiners were asked to rate the applicants were voice, appearance, language, mental alertness, ability to present ideas, poise and bearing, tact, judgment, and personal fitness.

The oral interviewers were told: "It is your handling of each applicant that will in large measure crystallize his feeling about the fairness of the whole examining process." The board did what it could to "crystallize the applicant's feeling" by providing for the prompt and courteous reception of applicants



and by furnishing quiet and comfortable rooms in first-class hotels for the oral examinations. There was little suggestion of the atmosphere of city hall or state house.

### Results of the Plan

The interviewers and the press were favorably impressed by the procedure and convinced that there was an honest attempt to be fair. This was made apparent in newspaper treatment of the oral examinations and in correspondence coming to the Employment Board from the interviewers. A Philadelphia insurance broker declared:

I have had the feeling in the past that work for state departments of this kind was secured largely on a basis of political patronage, and that the applicant's principal interest was in the pay rather than the work. The result of my experience has convinced me that it is possible for people in government employment to put quite as much interest and enthusiasm into their work as one expects to find in private employment.<sup>6</sup>

The Employment Board for the Department of Public Assistance attaches value to its experiment. In writing of the boards of oral interviewers, it declared:

The caliber of the total group selected, the fact that they were chosen because of their conspicuous and respected position in business, professional, and community activities and that they served without pay was perhaps the single most valuable factor in establishing the quality of the whole examining process in the eyes of candidates for positions and to the general public.<sup>7</sup>

The board has since its first series of oral examinations sent literature to its oral interviewers three times and plans to maintain the contact. In the next series of oral examinations, it plans to use at least one-third new citizen interviewers. This will bring more citizens into the band of enthusiastic supporters of the new service.

One instance will suffice to make clear the value of the oral interviewers in maintaining community support. In February 1938, the Luzerne County Board of Public Assistance announced the replacement of the county relief director and one hundred relief workers. This occurred after the written and oral examinations had been given but before certification by the Employment Board of any successful candidates. Some of the new appointees had in fact done so poorly on the written examinations that they were automatically excluded from the oral interview.

Four groups rose in protest. They represented the unemployed, organized labor, the community fund, and the oral interviewers. Six of the latter, including the president

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from "Oral Examinations in Pennsylvania," *The Compass*, April 1938, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Letter to all County Boards of Public Assistance, April 1, 1938.

of the local bar association, a leading rabbi, a Protestant minister, the Catholic head of the private charities organization, and a Jewish merchant who owned the largest department store in the region, publicly denounced the Luzerne County Board's action as spoils politics. The press played up the story and editorialized copiously on the subject.<sup>8</sup> Within twenty-four hours the County Board capitulated. The relief director and almost all others were reinstated.

Within a few days further oral examinations were to be given in Luzerne County. Were the six oral interviewers who protested to be asked to serve again? Even the local

politicians expressed willingness to have them participate. As one expressively declared, "If they are willing to stand the heat, for God's sake, let them do it."

This local politician suggested the significance of this experiment. A group of representative citizens so carefully selected that neither politician nor protest group would find it expedient to attack it, can "stand the heat" or at least "share the heat" with both politician and administrator. Not only can they "stand the heat" but they can be influential nuclei in building up a public opinion that will support sound public personnel administration.

<sup>8</sup> *Wilkes-Barre Times*, February 28, 1938.

# ORGANIZED GROUPS

Edited by E. PENDLETON HERRING

## BRITISH COOPERATIVES IN POLITICS

By ROBERT C. HALL

*The author is a graduate of Harvard University and has a diploma in Economics from Oxford University. While abroad he travelled extensively in England and Denmark in the course of his study of the cooperative movement.*

During recent years, the British Cooperative Movement has become increasingly aware of the necessity for political representation and has gradually built up a pressure group of formidable proportions. Buttressed by a membership of more than 7,000,000 and a chain of stores doing \$1,500,000,000 business a year, co-operators have invaded Westminster and Whitehall to demand that their particular interests be safeguarded in the multitudinous contacts between government and business. In this effort, they have developed techniques of representation whose sheer weight merits consideration and

whose implications deserve analysis.

In origin and in aims cooperation is more than merely a great distributive combine—rather, it is a movement whose ultimate objectives embrace the entire field of social organization. However, during the first sixty years of their history, co-operators devoted all of their energies to the creation and perfection of their system of retail trading and production. With the gradual abandonment of *laissez-faire* in British politics and with the growth of the Cooperative Movement into a gargantuan enterprise of 1,127,000 members whose shops did a business of \$160,000,000 each year, representations to Parliament and government departments on legal and trade matters became so frequent and continuous as to compel the formation in 1892 of a Parliamentary Committee. This was composed of representa-

tives of the National Cooperative Union and of the English and Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Societies. With a permanent staff in Westminster, this committee sought to represent the interests of the Co-operative Shops before committees of Parliament and at hearings in Whitehall. Despite the growth of the Labor Party, despite the rise of a militant political spirit within the movement, the Parliamentary Committee was about the only tangible link between the cooperatives and the agencies of the state for more than a quarter of a century. Immune from taxation, free to expand their activities under the aegis of the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, they had little need for organized pressure politics.

#### Entry into Politics

Events during the World War forced the cooperatives into politics. Early in the war, cooperatives offered to put their entire organization at the service of the state in order to create an efficient, effective distributive mechanism. They were ignored and snubbed. Under the *datum* system of food distribution, the Movement with its constantly growing membership suffered serious shortages while private traders prospered. The government brought co-operative societies within the scope of the excess profits tax and thereby demolished the established principle

that surplus on mutual trading does not constitute taxable profit. Lacking effective representation on government tribunals, cooperative interests were neglected while the well-represented interests of private traders were given weighty consideration. In food control matters, coal supplies, transport facilities and regulations, military tribunals, this question of direct political representation became of supreme importance to the Cooperative Movement.

The origin and rationale of active cooperative politics may be found in the resolution adopted by the Co-operative Congress of all retail societies in 1917—"In view of the persistent attacks and misrepresentations made by the opponents of the Cooperative Movement in Parliament and on local administrative bodies, this Congress is of the opinion that the time has arrived when cooperators should seek direct representation in Parliament and on all local administrative bodies." Immediately thereafter, with the organization of local cooperative parties and with the creation of party war chests out of the profits of retail trading, Cooperation started to take an active part in politics, both local and national.

It is of importance to note briefly these origins of cooperative politics. Cooperators entered politics as a defensive economic measure.

Rather than seek special favors, co-operators sought through direct political action to secure equal treatment with the private traders in the increasing contacts between business and government.

Cooperatives have sought to influence governmental policies through two different techniques: (1) through indirect, lobbying activities under the leadership of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Cooperative Union; (2) through the direct election of Cooperative Party candidates to Parliament and to local administrative bodies.

**Joint Parliamentary Committee:** This committee is composed of members of the Cooperative Union, of the Wholesale Societies, of the Cooperative Party, of the Cooperative Productive Federation, and of Cooperative Executives' Associations. In all matters of policy it is ultimately responsible to the 1,200 retail societies in congress assembled. Its functions are to propose, promote, amend, oppose and examine legislation, actual or prospective, and to make all necessary representations to authorities, departments, and associations as regards the possible direct effects of legislation on the Cooperative Movement and its constituent societies; to secure representation on governmental commissions and committees; to arrange for the submission of evidence where deemed advisable; and in general to defend

cooperative interests as they are affected or likely to be affected by acts, bills, orders, or commissions. Under the inspired leadership of the Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander (First Lord of the Admiralty under the MacDonald Government), this Committee has well established offices in Westminster, a liberal budget provided out of contributions from local retail societies, a wealth of data supplied by the Cooperative Union, and the active support of 7,000,000 members in 1,200 societies.

### **The Cooperative Party**

On the other hand the Cooperative Party is a true political party, concentrating its attention on the election of active cooperative officials to local and national office. Each local society determines whether or not it will affiliate with the national Party and furthermore determines the amount of surplus which it will allocate for political purposes. Where favorable action has been taken, local party organizations are established under the guidance of the National Committee. These local units, financed by liberal contributions from their local societies, build up regular party organizations, nominate and fight candidates for local offices, and during the general elections either run their own candidates for Parliament or, at the direction of the National Committee, co-operate with the Labor Party to

elect a mutually satisfactory candidate. For the most part the Party fights on a Labor platform with particular emphasis on those issues which directly affect cooperative trade. On January 1, 1937, the Party had 482 subscribing societies with a total membership of 4,964,856 and actually had nine representatives sitting as members of Parliament.

In addition to these direct pressure activities, the Movement seeks to arouse and organize public opinion through its tireless propaganda. The cooperative press publishes more than twenty-five weekly and monthly periodicals, each of which has a substantial circulation both within and beyond the Movement. Its *Reynolds News*, an excellent Sunday newspaper, reaches a general public of more than 500,000, while its *Wheatseaf*, a monthly, and its sporadic *Cooperative Citizen* pamphlets boast a circulation of more than a million. Of greater importance, perhaps, than the mere size of this cooperative press is the fact that all of the publications emphasize a single approach to the problems of politics. All of the political articles in these publications present the program of the Committee and the Party. Thus each plank in the cooperative platform is explained and defended in a well-organized press reaching millions of voting citizens.

Furthermore, each store is a center for propaganda. Advertising

flyers may include some references to the Movement's political aims. Indeed during the last county council elections in London every cooperative milkman, breadboy, and general deliveryman distributed daily pamphlets to all of the voters on his route.

Finally, all of the social and educational activities of the local societies are devoted to the spreading of knowledge about cooperative endeavors. Even tea parties are utilized to disseminate information on the aims of the Movement in business and politics.

With a well-organized Parliamentary Committee and with a growing political party grouping, with a wealth of supporters and a sufficiency of working funds, with a well written and widely circulated press, the Movement would seem to be in an ideal position to exert tremendous pressure on national and local governing officials. Yet the record of achievement is singularly blank.

#### **Income Tax Fight**

Perhaps the experience of the cooperatives in politics can best be analyzed from a study of the great struggle over the income tax in 1933.

The question of the taxation of cooperative profits had been a bone of contention for years. Private traders' organizations and chambers of commerce had petitioned often



for an investigation. Similarly, cooperative societies aware of the menace had demanded from all candidates receiving their support a pledge to vote and work against any bill which sought to tax cooperative surpluses.

Late in 1932, private trading interests and the Beaverbrook press launched an attack on the cooperatives. Influenced by the petitions of powerful groups, the Prime Minister appointed an "impartial" committee to study the subject and report. The rooms of this committee became the battleground for a struggle between the pressure groups of private trade and the organizations of the cooperatives. Led by the National Organizations Coordinated Committee, the representatives of the Federation of Grocers, National Traders Defence League, National Union of Manufacturers, and tens of others pleaded their case. In this crucial test of strength, the Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander and Cooperative Party chiefs marshalled a host of witnesses and an encyclopedic mass of data and arguments.

Despite all of the efforts of the cooperatives, the committee, heavily weighted with private trade-cum-conservative members, reported in favor of the tax on cooperative reserves.

Cooperative interests redoubled their efforts to defeat the measure on the floor of the House. All socie-

ties contributed to a "guaranty fighting fund." In every important city, cooperative parades, demonstrations, and mass meetings were held. Special conferences were arranged with friendly Members of Parliament. Every cooperative journal carried leading articles and stiff editorials. Eleven million leaflets were distributed all over England, 40,000 "sign the petition" posters were displayed throughout the land, 246,000 of Palmer's article exposing the Report of the Committee were circulated, and more than a million stickers were placed on letters urging the defeat of the tax bill. As a final effort, almost every society in the country circulated a petition throughout its territory and urged all voters to sign and thereby to go on record as against the bill. On the crucial night of the final division in Parliament, all of these petitions were taken to London by chosen representatives and a giant mass meeting was held in Westminster. At the close of the demonstration these representatives trooped over to Parliament, sought out their own Members of Parliament, presented the petitions, and urged them to vote against the bill.

In the final division on the Measure, the cooperatives were overwhelmingly defeated 290-42 in a strictly party lineup.

This example of pressure politics has been elaborated at some length to demonstrate the tremen-

dous resources of cooperative pressure groups and to illustrate their complete failure to secure favorable governmental action. Indeed, in most of their contacts with government cooperatives have failed. Their efforts to modify the Marketing Acts, their appeals before the Marketing Boards on vital issues, their representations to the Ministry of Labor, their contacts with the Board of Trade, and with the Import Duties Advisory Committee—all have been singularly fruitless and it would be very difficult to mention one case of vital importance in which cooperative pressure activities have been successful in securing favorable action.

It is therefore of some value to analyze briefly the reasons for the ill fortunes of this apparently powerful pressure organization.

#### **Britain's Party Structure**

Of primary significance is the peculiar party structure of British politics and the class structure of the Cooperative Movement. To secure favorable legislation in Parliament or preferential treatment before administrative tribunals, interested groups must secure the support or at least the acquiescence of the party in power. Members of Parliament and officials of the Civil Service are bound to heed the dictates of party leaders in preference to the representations of special interests, even though these special

interests claim to have substantial support in the constituencies. Thus with a Conservative Government in power, the efforts of cooperative leaders are foredoomed to failure. The cooperative membership is drawn almost entirely from the middle and laboring classes; its sympathies and its policies are socialist; the Cooperative Party in the Cheltenham agreement formed an alliance with the Labor Party, and its candidates find support only as representatives of the Labor Party. Consequently, all of its representations are looked on as Labor Party policies and thus become political issues to be defeated both in Westminster and in Whitehall.

Of great importance also is the complexion of Parliament during the past two decades. A large majority of the Conservative Members are directors of business corporations which are in direct competition with the Cooperative Movement. Indeed in the Parliament which passed the income tax, 190 members held 700 directorships in corporations competing with cooperative enterprises.

Furthermore, cooperative enterprise in Britain embraces all varieties of business activity—retail distribution, manufacturing of a large variety of articles, mining, banking, insurance, agriculture, even undertaking. Thus any attempt to secure concessions for the Movement as a whole is opposed by all organizations

of private enterprise, while representations on behalf of one phase of cooperative enterprise, such as the milk trade, can be successful under a Conservative Government only with the consent of private trading organizations in the same field.

The experience of British co-operatives demonstrates the danger

of any quantitative approach to pressure politics. It illustrates the difficulties of any pressure group which definitely aligns itself with one political party. Finally, it emphasizes the supreme importance of environmental influences in determining the structure, the policies, and the techniques of pressure politics.

## GROUP ORGANIZATION IN SWEDEN

By GUNNAR HECKSCHER

*The author is a professor at the University of Uppsala and has made a special study of group activities in Sweden.*

The growth of the cooperative movement in Sweden is but one (and hardly the most important) side of a development which has taken place in all fields of Swedish social and economic life, and which might perhaps be characterized as "free corporativism." Like the compulsory corporativism of Italy, it means the end of *laissez-faire*, if there ever was such a thing. But it means, also, an attempt of those social groups which regard themselves as slighted to win by concerted action that which their individual members have not been able to attain; to create "equality of bargaining power"; and to do these things primarily through voluntary cooperation with a limited amount of legislative action. This tendency

is probably universal, but it has, in Sweden, been working for a comparatively long time and under unusually peaceful conditions. While the Swedish solutions are by no means universally applicable, they may have at least a modicum of interest to other countries struggling with comparable problems.

### Existing Organizations

Foremost in importance, in numbers, and in age among cooperative groups, is the labor union movement. It grew up at the end of the 1880's, achieved a certain success before the end of the century and, in spite of a serious setback in the so-called General Strike of 1909, was well established before the World War. Today, industrial workers are almost completely organized, and the trade unions count a membership of about 750,000. Employers, and particularly "big business," have

with few exceptions agreed that labor should organize, and they are in most cases conscious of the fact that collective bargaining has been of value to both parties. Business itself has organized for labor purposes, if less completely, and has to a great extent succeeded in eliminating competition from labor disputes by demanding that a collective bargain should, as a rule, be made for a whole industry at one time. On the other hand, trusts and cartels have hardly proved especially characteristic of Swedish economic life.

The consumers' cooperative movement also grew up at the end of the nineteenth century, and its membership is only about 100,000 smaller than that of the trade unions. The cooperatives have in several instances succeeded in breaking up trusts and cartels and in keeping prices down. Although they control only a comparatively small part even of the retail trade, the Cooperative Union is the largest single enterprise in this field. The members of the cooperatives are still largely drawn from industrial workers, but the tendency in recent years has been to draw in other groups, especially farmers, agricultural workers, and urban white-collar workers.

An important development of the last ten years has been the sudden growth of producers' cooperation in agriculture. As will be shown later, to some extent this has been the re-

sult of state action. Some of these organizations reach a membership of nearly 200,000, and the greater part of agricultural production passes through their hands.

The last few years, also, have seen a considerable growth of the white-collar workers' organizations. For a long time, this group remained unorganized, and employers were anxious to preserve such a state of things. It was found, however, that the pressure of organized labor for higher wages on one side, and the employers' attempts to limit payrolls on the other, proved too much for the unorganized middle-class employees. Their standard of living rose very much less than that of other workers. Organization is now in progress, although it is as yet far from complete. There has been considerable discussion as to whether this organization should be inside or outside the labor movement. It is said by labor leaders that the strength of the Federation of Labor might be a considerable asset to the new organizations. But it is also alleged, by the advocates of independent organizations, that in so far as the employer's capacity to increase his payroll is limited, there is a clash of interests between the two groups and that the white-collar employees, as a permanent minority, may find it difficult to make their voice heard in labor unions. So far, collective bargaining—a right which is ex-

pressly recognized by legislation—has generally taken place without the assistance of the labor movement, and the most important unions of white-collar employees remain outside the Federation of Labor and have even created a central association of their own.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of group organizations. It suggests, however, that the most potent social elements of the nation—workers, employers, farmers—act collectively rather than individually. It should be added that while Sweden has by no means avoided social strife, the disputes generally have been kept within the four corners of the law, and that violence in labor conflicts, for instance, has been exceptionally rare.

#### Character of the Groups

Organizations of this kind are, of course, most active in the economic field, and it is as economic forces that they have commanded most interest. On the other hand, their strength and importance depend quite as much on ideology as on purely material conditions. Not even the strongest organization can be incessantly victorious, and failure may prove very dangerous. By invoking idealistic motives, a movement has a much better chance of surviving setbacks of this kind. The worker, when out on strike and suffering a decrease in his income,

gathers strength from the thought that he is performing a mission for his class and for the submerged elements of society. The employer, on the other hand, is influenced by the idea of preserving free competition and an open shop, while members of agricultural cooperatives think of the glory of working the earth and of maintaining the dignity of the farmers' profession. The members of a consumers' cooperative think of the time when his system, instead of capitalism or state socialism, will govern the economic relationships of mankind.

These factors have proved very important in Swedish development. Not only class solidarity—where the organization is identified with a class, as in the case of labor unions—but also a feeling of loyalty to the organization as such, govern the actions of members. The experience of the various summer schools and folk high schools of the organizations bears out this statement. The subjects most frequently studied in the labor union schools are "trade unionism" and "socialism"; in schools of the consumers' cooperatives, "cooperation"; and in those of agricultural cooperatives, "associations" (*föreningskunskap*).

But if the organizations are to some extent formed according to class lines, this does not necessarily mean that each class supports only one organization. There exist, for

instance, three movements among the farmers, each with a different position in the social and economic affairs of the country. First there are the producers' cooperatives just mentioned, chiefly occupied with selling the products of the farmers. Then there is the "Rural People's Union" (*Riksförbundet Landsbygdens Folk*), with the object of guarding the purely class interests of farmers, especially in the labor market, where farmers are employed as part-time workers, e.g. in the lumber industry, and, finally, the parliamentary party of the farmers, the "Farmers' Alliance" (*bondeförbundet*).

Another characteristic of all these organizations is a trend towards centralized authority. Collective bargaining in the labor market generally takes place on a nationwide basis for each industry or craft, and the Federation of Labor reserves the right to be represented at any important conference with employers. The same is true of the Employers' Association, and in many cases these organizations are able, by bringing financial pressure to bear on recalcitrant members, to enforce their policy. The Cooperative Union controls the policy of local cooperatives, chiefly with a view to maintaining their solvency. And, in recent years, agricultural organizations have shown the same tendency.

A double relationship exists between the state and these strong eco-

nomic units. In Sweden, as in practically all democratic countries, they are very powerful as pressure groups. But at the same time, they act as administrative agencies of the state, or are given a direct voice in deciding questions in their own field.

As pressure groups, some of them, and notably the trade union movement, are associated with political parties. The trade unions furnish most of the sinews of war to the Social Democratic Party. Also, the locals are generally affiliated with that party, although individual members may be Communists or even give a silent vote for one of the bourgeois parties. As the Social Democratic Party is in office and commands all but a majority in Parliament, this gives the unions considerable political influence. In a case some years ago (a bill dealing with the rights of the neutral party in economic conflicts) trade union influence is reported to have upset the plans of the party leaders. On the other hand, the relation of the trade union to the state may have a directly opposite influence. Prominent trade unionists who are closely associated with the responsible leaders of the nation, can more easily be made to understand that there is a national point of view, which, even when it comes into conflict with their own immediate interests, is worthy of consideration. This is another factor which acts for peace in the labor market.



The consumers' cooperatives, through some of their leaders, are also associated with the Social Democratic Party, but the movement as such claims complete independence of political parties. So do the agricultural cooperatives and the "Rural People's Union," although the latter's assertions have been questioned. The leader of the Farmers' Alliance and a Minister of Agriculture was the national chairman of the meat producers' cooperative organization, but the corresponding post in another of these organizations is occupied by a former Liberal Minister of Agriculture, and in yet another by a Conservative Member of Parliament. This does not diminish their political influence. On the contrary! It is a hotly discussed question whether all farmers should join the Farmers' Alliance, instead of being spread, as is now the case, over three or four parties. So far nobody has denied that the three gentlemen just mentioned have worked with equal zeal to further the interests of farmers in the political field, and have exercised considerable influence on the agricultural policy of their respective parties.

The legal recognition given to these groups cannot be discussed here. But it should be noted that to a certain extent they act as state agencies. Some of the agricultural cooperatives (particularly the dairy producers') administer the very com-

prehensive farm legislation of the last five years. They are under state control but act with great freedom, and even with certain direct advantages for their members. Both the Federation of Labor and the National Association of Employers present candidates for two out of the seven positions on the Labor Court, a court which decides, without appeal, cases arising under the law of collective bargaining and certain other acts. And all powerful economic organizations are represented on the National Committee on Economic Preparation (for war conditions), as well as on other, more ephemeral government committees and councils.

Undoubtedly, arrangements of this kind present problems. It may not be entirely easy to be at the same time the elected official of a great pressure organization and an administrative agent of the state. Present political circumstances, with agricultural questions virtually outside the realm of party politics, and the Farmers' Alliance in the government, have made the position of the dairy producers' cooperative, for example, easier than it might otherwise have been, and it is indeed doubtful whether the sudden rise of agricultural cooperatives would have been possible without the assistance of the state. Political changes in the future may have a corresponding effect on the position of economic organizations.

But equally plausible reasons may be advanced on the other side. The growing importance of state activities in the economic life of the nation makes the relationship between administrators and private interests a matter of extremely serious concern. It is possible that the consequent "regimentation" may be easier to bear if its execution is left to the organizations of those who are to be controlled. And, in any case, the power of group organizations being what it is, their assistance is of value to the political powers in a democratic state.

### Free Corporativism

There is a certain resemblance between this system—the practice of which is by no means limited to Sweden—and the corporativism of Italy and, to some extent, Germany. In both cases, individualism and *laissez-faire* have been abandoned as guiding political principles. In both cases, the economic relationship between governing organs and the individuals making up the people is indirect, with organizations of particular groups acting as intermedi-

aries. But there is also a more fundamental difference. In Italy, these organizations were created by the state, after the spontaneous group organizations had been crushed; and the new groups have only a very limited measure of self-government. In Sweden, on the other hand, the state has taken advantage of spontaneous associations, built on a democratic basis, and is enlisting their independent cooperation. The Swedish system, as well as the Italian, may properly be called "corporativism." But in Sweden it is not a result of dictatorial, hardly even of legislative, action. Spontaneity is its fundamental quality; it is essentially a "free corporativism."

Finally, there is the question of Parliamentary representation. In the dictatorships, the tendency has been to build representation on these corporate groups. So far, no non-dictatorial state has made this experiment. Whether it is possible, without a dictator, to provide national leadership independent of specific group interests under corporate representation is thus a question which remains to be answered.

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# CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

Edited by O. W. RIEGEL

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## THE DIVISION OF CULTURAL RELATIONS

By BEN M. CHERRINGTON

*The increased interest of the Federal government in problems of communication, particularly in their international aspects, is reflected by the recent creation within the Department of State of two new divisions, a Division of International Communications and a Division of Cultural Relations.*

*The Division of International Communications, the establishment of which was announced by the Secretary of State on August 19, 1938, undertakes to centralize activities relating to international aspects of problems connected with radio, cable, telegraph, and telephone, aviation and shipping; and to establish a unified policy in the handling thereof. The Chief of this division is Thomas Burke.*

*The objectives and purposes of the Division of Cultural Relations are presented below by the Chief of the Division, Dr. Cherrington.*

*Before his appointment to the new post in the Department of State, Dr. Cherrington was Director of the Foundation for the Advancement of Social Sciences and Chairman of the Department of International Relations at the University of Denver, and Director of the Colorado Community Program of Education in International Understanding. He is widely known for his books and his work in adult education in the field of international relations.*

The new Division of Cultural Relations will direct the official international activities of the Department of State with respect to cultural relations. It will seek above all to coordinate the wide diversity of activities which are being carried on throughout the country. These activities will embrace the exchange of professors, teachers, and students; cooperation in the field of music, art,

literature, and other intellectual activities; encouragement of the distribution of libraries of representative works of the United States and suitable translations of such works into other languages as well as from foreign languages into English; collaboration in the preparation for and participation by this government in international expositions, especially in the field of art; cooperation by this government in international radio broadcasts; and, in general, the dissemination abroad of the representative intellectual and cultural works of the United States.

It is well to emphasize that these efforts will be reciprocal as far as is possible. It is desired that the channels be opened for the free flow of ideas and cultural production from this country abroad and from the other nations to the United States. The concept of intellectual cooperation would be incomplete if a unilateral policy were carried out. It is anticipated, therefore, that the Division may also contribute effectively to a knowledge of foreign cultures among our own people.

One of the activities of the Division is the fulfilment of the obligation which the United States has assumed under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, approved at the Buenos Aires Conference in 1936. This convention was sponsored by

the United States Delegation and it received the unanimous support of the delegates from the other American republics. Besides the United States, Brazil, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and Haiti have ratified the convention, and it is expected that other governments will take similar action in the near future. This convention provides for the annual exchange by each of the contracting states of two students and one professor, so that the United States will receive each year under this arrangement forty students and twenty professors and will send out an equal number, assuming that the convention is ratified by all of the American republics. This constitutes an important step in the way of stimulating interchange of students and professors with the other republics.

The increased exchange of publications is an important phase of the work which the Division proposes to undertake. The books, journals, and reviews of the United States have a very limited circulation in the other American republics, and even in Europe the movement of publications is by no means as active as it should be. It is fundamental that for effective intellectual cooperation the publications of the United States which reflect the cultural and spiritual life of this country be available to the other nations of the

world. It is proposed to stimulate the circulation of such works, the establishment of libraries, and the publication of suitable translations.

In some of the capitals of the American republics, special institutes exist for intellectual cooperation with the United States; notably, in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Lima. There is a dearth of such institutions in the American states in contrast with the relatively large number of institutions which exist for the promotion of cultural relations with Europe. It is important that cooperation and encouragement be extended to these organizations to the end that close cultural contacts may be maintained.

The twin fields of art and music offer considerable opportunities for

effective cooperation. Art of the United States is known only too little outside this country, while the artistic productions of the other American nations reach people of the United States to a limited extent. In some of the other American republics significant achievements in art are being realized, and with these countries suitable exchange exhibits should be carried out. American music, other than popular dance music, has received little general hearing. Concerts and other forms of musical expression, as well as visits by individual artists would contribute considerably to a diffusion of the knowledge of the culture of this country. The whole field of radio broadcasting offers almost unlimited possibilities.

## THE GERMAN MOTION PICTURE TODAY

*Two contrasting analyses of the status of the motion picture in the Third Reich are presented. The first is prepared by an official of the German film industry, the second by an observer from abroad.*

### THE GERMAN VIEW

By FRITZ OLIMSKY

*Dr. Olimsky is an official in the Foreign Press Department of the Reich Film Chamber.*

With the assumption of the government by the National Socialists there began in Germany five

years ago a systematic reconstruction of the entire film industry, and this took place in the framework of the whole cultural reconstruction of Germany. The basis of the new organization which has been set up is the Reich Chamber of Culture, which is composed of the following individual chambers: Chamber of Music, Chamber of Plastic Arts, Chamber of Drama, Chamber of Literature, Press Chamber, Radio Chamber, and Film Chamber.

These chambers thus comprise the entire domain of German cul-

ture, and a part of it is the film industry, to which much greater importance is attached in the new Germany than formerly. This, in fact, is characteristic of all authoritarian states. The basic idea of the organization is that the various interests which formerly struggled against one another are today fashioned into a single, unified professional organism in which the idea of cooperation finds vigorous expression.

Reich Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels, to whom the Reich Chamber of Culture and hence also the film industry is subordinated, has devoted his greatest attention to the films from the very beginning. He saw in them not only a means of mass entertainment but a branch of art through which culture could be transmitted to the people. The films are regarded in Germany as the form of art which is closest to the people.

Very shortly after establishment of the Reich Propaganda Ministry, Dr. Goebbels made an important speech to film workers, outlining the general policy which was to be pursued; this was soon followed by action, the foundation of the Reich Film Chamber. This took place as early as July 14, 1933, and since that time all persons and enterprises taking part in the creation and distribution of German films are rigidly organized—producers and distributors as well

as studios, motion picture theaters, copying establishments, and manufacturers of equipment, and above all the actual creators of films, such as production managers, directors, recorders, cameramen, master cutters, stars, extras, make-up men, property men, costumers, etc. The old professional associations, which only represented special interests, have been comprised in the Reich Film Chamber as professional groups.

### Censorship and Control

On July 15, 1934, the new motion picture law was announced, as well as the decree relating to the exhibition of foreign films. The censorship of films applies to the film itself, the text, and the title, with special regard to whether the film endangers vital interests of the state or public order and safety, whether it offends National Socialist, moral, religious, or artistic feelings, and finally whether it imperils German prestige or the relations of Germany to foreign states. Besides this more negative function of film censorship, it also has an important positive task: the awarding of distinctive predicates to especially deserving films. These citations—politically valuable, artistically or culturally valuable, educative, politically and artistically especially valuable—involve a reduction of the amusement tax for exhibition in German film theaters, and in the case of the



highest predicates a complete exemption from the tax.

Supplementary to this film legislation in the proper sense of the word, the detailed conditions of the films are regulated by decrees of the Reich Film Chamber. Among the more important of these decrees mention may be made of the restriction of new theater construction. New theaters may now be established only with special permission, and this permission is granted only when there is really a demand for a new theater in the locality in question; in this way an excessive number of film theaters in any one district, which would be detrimental to the whole film industry, is avoided. Decrees have also fixed minimum prices of admission and standard rates for the renting of films with a view to insuring a suitable return for the producers. Formerly it often happened that film theater owners who had a monopoly in their localities used their position of power to force down film rentals in a manner injurious to the general interest. In order to rehabilitate the German film industry the Reich Film Chamber has also placed a ban on the double-feature program.

Abuses which had arisen in the field of procuring actors and actresses were met with a prohibition of the manager system. The securing of engagements for actors and actresses was uniformly organized by the

Reich Film Chamber; a central film agency, besides its principal task of providing engagements for experienced performers, also devotes itself to promoting the rising generation. Trial shots are systematically made of young persons who wish to go into the films and appear suitable, and an effort is made to find and encourage new writers, directors, and composers.

The elimination of numerous persons who were formerly engaged in the German film industry but were not acceptable to the new state has meant very far-reaching changes from the point of view of personnel alone; in subject-matter also the German films have taken on an entirely new aspect.

#### International Aspects

It is essential in an authoritatively governed state that its films should stress the national note. Here the fundamental idea is that German films which are sent abroad should reflect the character of their country of origin. This is based on the firm belief that other countries expect of Germany typically German films and not, as was formerly so often the case, films of a washed-out international character.

These ideas Germany always emphasizes in its international collaboration, which finds expression particularly in participation in the

work of the International Film Chamber.

A fact indicative of the German film policy is that in the past four years a number of treaties for the exchange of films have been made with countries which are politically on especially friendly terms with Germany. Such a treaty was signed with Italy with a view to a still closer cooperation between the two countries. These treaties again demonstrate clearly that Germany is determined to do away with the former conception of the film as purely a commercial article and to have it evaluated first of all as a cultural good. A film which goes beyond the frontiers of its country of origin is expected to be a valuable means of promoting knowledge and understanding among the peoples. It is for this reason that Germany has zealously participated in the International Film Art Exhibition in Venice, at present the largest exhibition of world film production. And from the same considerations Germany showed, in its own film theater in the German Pavilion of the World Exhibition in Paris, its best and most characteristic entertainment and cultural films produced in the past four years.

Besides promoting entertainment films, Germany has devoted its attention in increasing measure to the production of cultural films, particularly instructional films. At

the beginning of 1935 the Reich Bureau for Instructional Films was established, with the task of gradually providing all German schools with instructional films and projection apparatus. At the present moment 70,463 schools are served by the Reich Bureau for Instructional Films.

#### **Instructional Films**

Instructional films are produced explicitly for the purpose of teaching, and are made either by the aforementioned Bureau or by a specially commissioned producer of cultural films. In the schools only narrow-gauge films are used, the projecting apparatus with sound-reproducing accessories being supplied by the Bureau. The goal of equipping every German educational institution, from the smallest village school to the university, with its own projector will have been attained in a few years. In the meantime special exhibitors take care of the circulation of the projectors and the film copies. The teachers are being systematically trained in the handling of film equipment. In the field of university instructional films, the introduction of röntgen cinematography and micro-cinematography have made important and interesting fields of research accessible to an unlimited number of students.

A characteristic feature of the unified organization of the German film industry is the strict planning of production. Whereas formerly the making of entertainment pictures was compressed into a few months of the year, leaving the studios idle the rest of the time, the efforts of the Reich Film Chamber have succeeded in spreading production uniformly over the entire year, thus making possible a more efficient exploitation of the plant. In particular, this has eliminated the inevitable over-hasty work of former days, visibly improving the quality of the pictures produced. The most striking proof of the success of the work of German film organization is the rise in attendance at the theaters. While in 1932 the attendance at German motion picture theaters was 235,000,000, this figure increased in 1935 to 298,000,000. There has been a corresponding gain in box office receipts, which rose from 176,000,000 marks in 1932 to 220,000,000 marks in 1935. In 1936 the quarter-billion mark was exceeded.

A more rigid general organization of the film industry has also been observable in other countries in recent years. The fact that in many such cases examples set by Germany have been copied demonstrates most clearly that the policy adopted in Germany is regarded as promising of success.

## THE NAZI CINEMA

By S. K. PADOVER

*Dr. Padover, who holds degrees from Wayne University and the University of Chicago, has written several books on European history and was a Guggenheim Fellow in Europe, 1936-37.*

"Historic events," Propaganda Minister Goebbels admitted recently, "are not yet ripe for the theater and the cinema." Behind these words lies a stormy story of intellectual regimentation.

Between 1928 and 1933 Germany led Europe (excluding the Soviet Union) in the number of films produced: the average German output per year was 180, as compared with 125 for Britain, Germany's nearest European competitor. Under the cultural reign of Dr. Goebbels the annual production of films sank to less than 100 (as compared with about 200 for England), but this decline in numbers tells only part of the story.

When the Nazis came to power they found four large film producers in the field, all of them more or less financially embarrassed. Quickly the Nazis (both government and party) proceeded to acquire a hold on the industry. Universum Film (UFA), of which the industrialist Hugenberg was the largest shareholder, was brought by the Deutsche Bank und Diskontogesellschaft for

the government, and Hugenberg together with his fellow-directors were ousted from the board and replaced by Nazi dummies. Then Terra, the second of the Big Four, was purchased by Franz-Eher Verlag, a publishing house which is the private property of Hitler and the Nazi Party. Bavaria, the third of the big producing companies, was next to fall under the axe. In May 1937, the Neues Deutsches Lichtspielsyndikat (NDLS), which owned the majority shares of Bavaria, was in financial straits and capitulated to the government. Only Tonbild Syndikat (Tobis) has been able to weather the storm and remain in private hands, perhaps because it is financed from abroad (Amsterdam). The Nazi government, therefore, owns and controls 80 per cent of the German film-producing industry.

Curiously enough, the reverse is true in the case of cinema theaters. UFA, to be sure, still possesses a chain of 130 theaters, but the great majority of houses are in private hands. Of the 5,300 theaters in Germany (with a total seating capacity of 2,000,000), fully 97 per cent are the property of individual owners. But it would be a mistake to assume that these proprietors are independent agents, free to exhibit what they like. The government has "co-ordinated" them into one big national union and made them an in-

strument of the Propaganda Ministry.

Severe exchange regulations and a rigorous censorship have combined virtually to eliminate foreign films from the Reich. In 1932, 17 per cent of all the movies shown in Germany came from abroad; in 1936, only 9 per cent were foreign; and today foreign films are practically at the zero point.

#### **Present Economic Status**

Goebbels's victory, however, has turned out to be a Pyrrhic one. The elimination of foreign competition did not help the German industry; on the contrary, it harmed it in many ways. Not only did the output of the German cinema decline, as we have seen, but the profits also took a nose dive. According to a report made by Director Klitzsch of UFA before the Reichsfilmkammer, in 1935-36 the cost of production of German films amounted to 50,000,000 marks, and the income was only 40,000,000 marks; which makes a deficit of 10,000,000 marks (almost \$4,000,000).

The most astonishing thing about this enormous loss of income is the concurrent increase in cinema attendance in Germany. In fact, this is a Nazi boast in the field of cultural achievement—that under their rule more people go to see the movies than under the Republic. They point out that in 1932, before

they came to power, only 235,000,000 attended the cinema, while in 1936 the number rose to 315,000,000. These statistics are doubtless true, but they point to a paradox: increase in attendance actually involved a loss of income to the theater owners and, in the last analysis, to the producers. For the vast majority of these 315,000,000 spectators of 1936 filled the cheapest seats, while the more expensive seats (all European cinemas have varied price-scales, like operas) remained empty. Moreover, much of this cinema attendance about which the Nazis boast is gratis, arranged by political parties and social groups for propaganda purposes. Thus on March 7, 1937, they "celebrated" a National Film Day and 2,000 theater owners donated free seats to 1,000,000 spectators.

Even with the increased attendance, however, Germany still makes a poor showing compared with other countries. In 1936 the weekly cinema attendance in the Reich amounted to 8.6 per cent of the population. In the same year the weekly attendance in other countries was:

|               | %    |
|---------------|------|
| France        | 16.0 |
| United States | 34.2 |
| England       | 41.3 |
| Australia     | 54.0 |

### Reasons for Decline

There are other causes behind the heavy financial deficit of the German film industry. One of them, in particular, is not without irony: The "Aryan" laws and political persecutions so decimated the German stage ranks that the survivors were in a position to demand and to get exorbitant pay. Furthermore, while these "Aryan" stars have a monopoly within the Reich, abroad their products are apparently not looked upon with favor, as German films have steadily lost the foreign market. Before 1933, one-third of the film industry's income was derived from sales abroad; in 1937 this dropped to less than one-fifth, and is still sliding.

Fundamentally, the whole matter resolves itself into a question of quality. Like the legitimate theater, which is under the domination of six different and independent censorships, the cinema is subject to severe regulations and is controlled by the political Reichsfilmkammer (Reich Film Chamber). The censorship is particularly subtle because it is vague and negative. No director or producer is told what to do or not to do; there are no specific regulations governing the industry. But a perpetual hammer of suppression hangs by a thread over every studio. The authorities allow freedom of production, only to crack down the more effectively upon the completed work.

The insecurity thus engendered works greater havoc than positive interference.

Dr. Goebbels has issued instructions that films shall be labelled with one of six tags, in the following order of importance:

1. Politically and artistically excellent.
2. Politically and artistically useful.
3. Politically useful.
4. Artistically useful.
5. Culturally useful.
6. Educational.

These "grades" are not just empty honors, to be won for the uses of publicity, but have a positive financial value, since the Amusement Tax is levied in accordance with the above categories. Those films, for example, which Goebbels's office considers in the first class ("Politically and artistically excellent") go tax-free. Moreover, since in an autocratic state it is vital to be on the side of the government, all producers wish to win praise or at least approval from the authorities. (Parenthetically, the Propaganda Minister defined "politically useful" as any film which is "penetrated with the Nazi spirit.")

### Types of Films

Eager to win governmental favor, the producers experimented with at least three categories of films, all within the procrustean frame of Nazi "ideology."

In the first flush of victory, the nazified films frankly glorified the Hitlerian heroes. Classic examples of this period are *Hitlerjunge Quex*, *Horst Westmar*, *SA-Mann Brand*. Quex, Westmar, and Brand are valiant Galahads, Teutonic demigods with hearts of pure gold and fists of steel. But Germans who still remembered *The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari*, as well as the best that European and American cinemas had to offer, stayed away from *Quex*, *Westmar*, and *Brand*.

Alarmed by the marked lack of success of the "heroic films," the producers turned to "monumental films." Many of these were the work of the actress Leni Riefenstahl, once the rumored favorite of the Fuehrer.<sup>1</sup> Frau Riefenstahl produced such works as *Siege des Glaubens* (Victory of Faith) and *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the Will). These films deal with mass movements, marching, flag-waving, parading, and political heroics, all dominated by a central figure: the semi-divine Fuehrer.

Finally a rash of anti-bolshevik films broke out over the land.

<sup>1</sup> Last year Frau Riefenstahl received from Dr. Goebbels the 1938 Film Prize for her Olympics picture: *Olympia, Fest der Völker, Fest der Schönheit*. The Propaganda Minister described this film as a "symbol of our new epoch; it will represent German values abroad and show the greatness of our nation and our goal." See *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, June 1938, p. 542.



*Fluechtlinge* (Refugees), *Friesennot* (Frisian Distress), *Weisse Sklaven* (White Slaves), *Menschen ohne Vaterland* (Men Without a Country), all show the brave fight of heroic Nazis against brutal Reds. In quality these are of the penny-dreadful, Injun-bit-the-dust variety: the Nazis are paragons of virtue and heroism, the bolsheviks awful black ruffians. Of course the Nazi Lancelot always beats the bolshevik tiger-in-human-form, from whose clutches he saves the blonde girl in the nick of time.

The German public, however, tired of looking constantly at black-and-white, despite an occasional unpolitical picture such as Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*. Meanwhile the public flocked to the few foreign films that the censor allowed. Thus during 1936 the Hollywood products *Broadway Melody* (despite, or because of, the *verboten* jazz), *Ruggles of Red Gap*, and *San Francisco* had sensational runs in Berlin.

Just as censorship has killed the spontaneity of the German film, so the Nazi decrees have resulted in the

cinema's technical deterioration. The greatest directors, producers, technicians—Papst (*Dreigroschenoper*, etc.), Erich Pommer, Paul Czinner (husband of Elizabeth Bergner), Karl Grune, Ophuels, Walter Reisch, Siodmak, Friedrich Zelnick—are gravely missed. The same is true of the preponderant majority of the superior actors and actresses like Kortner, Bassermann, Homolka, and Tauber. Gone from the stage are the famous feminine stars, Elizabeth Bergner, Carola Neher, Dolly Haas, Tilla Durieux, Gitta Alpar, Franziska Gaal, Grete Mosheim, and Käthe von Nagy. A few feminine names still shine bright on the marquees of the cinema theaters, Pola Negri, La Jana, Anny Ondra, Lida Baarova—incidentally, none of them of German descent. What one Munich critic dared to write in 1937 about the German stage also holds true of the cinema: "This year's dramatic harvest was exceptionally poor. I did not see a single play—and I read thousands of manuscripts—which I could recommend."

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## PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

Edited by HARWOOD L. CHILDS

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### WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN IMMEDIATELY!

By DWIGHT ANDERSON

*Mr. Anderson is director of the Public Relations Bureau of the Medical Society of the State of New York.*

A doctor picks up his morning newspaper and reads in glaring headlines: "Sharp Fight Looms on Medical Care—Government Indicts Medical Monopoly." The subject of the leading editorial is: "Importance of Socialized Medicine." Blazoned forth in the magazines to which he subscribes for his waiting-room table, he finds such titles as "Money-Mad Doctors," "Doctors vs. Health," "Will the Health Trust Be Smashed?"

Here is evidence, before his eyes, of a campaign to remove from his hands the control of medical practice and vest it in government. He is opposed to this change, but what should he do, if anything? He is advised to write to his Senator and Congressman, and tell his friends to

do the same. But the doctor is reluctant to follow this suggestion; he does not want to engage in anything savoring of propaganda. Why should he write to men he does not know? Would it accomplish anything for him to do so? Are such letters read, or do they go automatically into the waste basket? These questions are pertinent and should be answered.

Accordingly, the Public Relations Bureau of the Medical Society of the State of New York recently wrote to Senator Arthur Capper, who had been quoted as saying, "Twelve letters carry more weight than a hundred signatures on a petition." He was asked whether he had been accurately reported. The Senator replied in the affirmative, and added: "Strong petitions are often quite impressive, and I would not attempt to advise anyone not to appeal to Congress by means of a petition, but individual letters written direct to

Senators and Congressmen by their own constituents are far more impressive."

#### **Legislative Survey**

The Public Relations Bureau next set about learning the attitude of other legislators on this question. It wrote every Senator and Representative, every Governor, and all the members of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York. Senator Capper's letter was enclosed, and the single question asked: "How much attention do you pay to letters from constituents who may be unknown to you?"

Replies numbering 256 were received from a total of 730—35 per cent—and one New York State Senator telegraphed! The results: 95 of the legislators say they are strongly influenced by letters from constituents; 85 are slightly influenced; 76 express no opinion. With respect to petitions, 25 say they are strongly influenced, 114 slightly influenced, 117 give no opinion.

The replies provide interesting answers to some of the most important questions regarding a constituent's correspondence with his representative.

#### **The Artificial "Avalanche"**

First, it seems clear that legislators can easily spot the work of high pressure agents who rush from town to town sending unauthorized mes-

sages by mail or wire, signing names obtained from the local telephone directory. Personal experience with an artificial "avalanche" of this sort has caused many legislators to be wary of every form of communication except a personal letter. Typical of this group is a New York Assemblyman who describes his introduction to the spurious type of "mass opinion," and adds that nowadays, "Postcards, petitions, and telegrams have little weight."

Even if the signatures are authorized and genuine, organized propaganda may fail of its objective. A member of Congress writes: "Many persons sign a petition without knowing what it contains. On checking signatures I often find they merely sign as a personal favor to a friend." Another Congressman states: "I am never impressed with organized propaganda, words put into the mouths of people who simply repeat them, without investigation." "Petitions have degenerated into something with little meaning," says a Representative from the Far West. A New York Assemblyman thinks that "A petition evidences only the interest of the solicitor of the signatures; a personal letter evidences the interest of the writer himself." One advocate of petitions, a New Jersey Congressman, demurs from this opinion, remarking "A carefully prepared petition will sometimes have more effect than a sloppy letter or

a hastily prepared telegram." But he does not state what effect a sensible letter may produce, and in any event the bulk of legislative opinion appears to be against him.

### The "Parrot Letter"

Somewhat similar to the petition is the "parrot letter"—typewritten in bulk and then passed around the community for signatures. A Representative from New York says: "I would not contend that all such signers are mere automatons, but obviously, most of them would not have thought of the issue involved had not someone more interested than they done some organized proselyting. In connection with such letters the legislator has to estimate, as best he can, the degree to which they represent a genuine public opinion. He cannot adopt a binding rule. He must use his judgment in each case. And, may I add that I read personally every letter that comes to my office. Were I to fail to do so, I fear I would miss something of genuine importance."

Original and truly personal letters from constituents may carry weight with legislators, especially if the writer is intelligent. A prominent Senator says: "A member of Congress is not usually helped in the performance of his duty by the advice given him by so many people who do not themselves know what they are talking about. For instance,

while the Court Bill was before the Senate, we were flooded with telegrams, letters and postal cards, and every other sort of communication, and I feel certain, as one of the members of the Judiciary Committee, no Senator was influenced, and that had the vote been taken in the Committee the first day of the hearing, the result would have been the same."

But a Representative from Missouri feels differently: "The only way a member of Congress, who is necessarily absent from his district the greater portion of the year, can know what his constituents are thinking and how they feel about questions of national importance is by their letters, and these letters do carry weight. No better examples of this can be found than in the defeat of the Court-packing proposal and the Executive Reorganization Bill—an aroused public sentiment, evidenced by an unprecedented volume of letters, telegrams and petitions, actually defeated these measures."

A Senator from a Southern state says: "If the letter shows that the writer is familiar with the subject and has convictions which he desires to express and does so intelligently, the letter may be enlightening and therefore have some effect."

The Governor of a Mid-Western state writes: "The public officer must try carefully to determine what letters are sincere and what ones are

part of an organized campaign and do not honestly represent the views of a majority of the people. I think I can honestly say that my best source of information about the social and economic problems of the people is from the letters I receive from my constituents."

The Governor of a Southern state makes clear, as do all other writers who touch on the subject, that no distinction is drawn between writers known and unknown: "The fact that I do not know the person writing to me does not make his appeal less urgent, or his opinion less valuable in gauging the trend of public thought and feeling. Of course, I enjoy as much as anyone else a letter from a friend, signed in a familiar hand, but I am always glad to have the views and reactions of anyone who wishes to express himself on matters of public interest, whether or not they agree with mine."

The present inquiry did not raise the question whether, in an ideal republic, it is best for legislators to listen to the voice of their constituents; the purpose was to find out whether they actually do, and what types of communication move them. In this connection it is pertinent to quote a statement by John A. McAfee, writing in the *Forum* for November 1938, under the title "I Won't Write My Congressman":

This picture of popular government as it is presented in the United States of America today is not a reassuring one.

An important matter is to come to vote in the Senate. The solon comes into his office in the morning and says to his secretary, "Well, Bill, what are the returns today? How do I vote?"

The secretary gives his master the tabulated report of the number of petitions, letters, telegrams, and phone calls, together with the balance for or against the pending bill. Fortified with this mandate from his constituency, our earnest lawmaker, a man elected presumably because of his judgment and ability to lead, votes on the measure which will affect the welfare of this and possible succeeding generations.

#### Legislative Attention

A variety of reasons is presented by the legislators for the attention they give to constituents' letters. A New York Assemblyman writes: "Sometimes we are criticized for paying too much attention to our correspondents. We are accused of having an eye more to our reelection than to the general welfare of the state at large. [But] the legislator who disregards the desires of his constituency is untrue to his trust and to his implied agreement to express the wishes of those who elected him. So that if he has an eye to his reelection, he also has an ear to the call of duty.

"I do not wish to imply from this that a public officer should respond implicitly to the commands of his

public like a beast of burden to the rein of his master. There is more to the job than that. A real legislator must know how to distinguish between quality and quantity of expression; temporary and permanent benefit; common sense and hysteria. This is not always easy and you will therefore understand why the life of a conscientious public officer is not always a bed of roses. Between pressure groups, public press, opposition groups, short-sighted views, his position is usually an uncomfortable one. But you will also realize from this how important it is to him to get a direct expression of views from the people who placed him where he is and why he must necessarily pay close attention to his correspondence."

A member of Congress from Oregon offers this reason for the attention paid to letters from constituents: "It is conceivable that at the beginning of our Republic, when there was a Representative for each 30,000 inhabitants, a member of Congress might know all of his constituents. That is not possible today when a majority of Congressmen represent ten times that many people. To ascertain the wishes of the thousands he cannot know personally, a Representative must read and study the large volume of mail that arrives daily, that he may fully and truly represent his constituency."

### **Quality, Not Quantity**

Lawmakers are influenced by the quality, rather than the quantity, of mail. A New York State Senator says: "I do not suggest that in casting my vote, I follow the expressed views of a majority of my correspondents on the question at issue. I took the oath of office, not my correspondents. But I am glad to get the views of my constituents and I give close attention to their letters."

And a New York State Assemblyman: "Of course the number of communications, either pro or con, does not influence my final vote. It would be more correct to say that the stronger arguments presented affect my final decision." Another Assemblyman: "Every conscientious legislator is anxious to receive the reaction of his constituents to pending legislative questions. Of greatest value and weight to such legislators are the reasoned opinions of such constituents as expressed in individual letters."

Several of the legislators remarked on the effectiveness of a personal approach. Thus one New York Assemblyman: "In my opinion, the most effective work that can be done for or against a pending piece of legislation is by personal contact. An intelligent explanation of the objections to a bill or the reasons why it should be approved is worth much more than quantities of letters and telegrams."



### Lay vs. Expert Opinion

But is it enough for the doctor in our case study to rely entirely on his own personal contacts? Not if many lawmakers are of the same mind as another New York Assemblyman who writes frankly: "The medical profession through their society might make a recommendation and if a great many individual laymen express to me an opposite opinion, my mind would probably react something like this: This is good and the medical society must know best, but the people in general don't want it and why force it upon them?" So, if laymen besiege a legislator with letters asserting that compulsory health insurance would improve the health of the public, he would feel impelled to vote affirmatively, despite the doctor's statement that it would do nothing of the kind. The doctor might know best, but the legislator would give the public what it demands or appears to demand.

Apparently, it is incumbent on the doctor, if he seeks to have his judgment prevail, not only to express his own views to legislators, but also to assist other voters to understand the issues so that they also may express themselves.

A member of the House of Representatives from Kansas well states what many other correspondents also take pains to explain: "The place where I draw the line of dis-

tinction is whether letters appear to represent the spontaneous and genuine views of the writer, or whether they have merely been written as a result of a campaign of organized propaganda.

"I don't mean that I would discount all letters which might be the result of an educational campaign conducted for or against legislative measures as long as the views expressed are those of the writers themselves. I do not regard similar or form letters, obviously inspired from a common source, any more highly than I do petitions. I don't disregard either such letters or petitions, but they certainly do not have the standing that individual letters have.

"Anyone who has been in public life for any considerable length of time, readily learns to distinguish between the true and the false among letters and communications regarding legislation."

Just what may be the difference between an educational campaign and a campaign of propaganda? Perhaps the answer to this question depends on which side one happens to favor: our own efforts to persuade the public are educational, those of our opponents are propaganda. In one great Eastern state, pairs of doctors toured from town to town while a compulsory health-insurance law was pending in the legislature, speaking a prepared dialogue at "captured" meetings, making them-

selves available wherever there might happen to be scheduled a gathering of local people interested in public affairs. Pamphlets were distributed, and listeners were urged to write their lawmakers if they agreed with the speakers or the author of the pamphlet. Was this education or propaganda? The interested doctors, of course, believe it was education. They say that the whole subject matter of expanding tax-paid medical care is so complicated that the public cannot be expected to understand it when over-simplified into a headline or cliché. Anyway, the measure was defeated.

Legislators have a high regard for the doctor's opinion, even if, as suggested above, they do not always vote in accordance with it. Many correspondents voice the view of a New York State Senator: "I give careful attention to letters from medical men and their friends, for such letters have proved frequently to be an excellent source of information, and from time to time have contained valuable ideas with regard to legislation."

A Congressman from New York: "My reaction can be simply stated. To original and personal letters from members of the medical profession, whether constituents or not, I give deserving consideration and study."

But such letters may easily miss the mark, if the criticism of a mem-

ber of Congress from the Southwest is a common one: "If letters are written as you have written this one—that is, all on one page and not a crowded page—they are frequently read by a Congressman, whether from the district or not. Letters written by professional men are usually very tiresome and technical. The lawyers are the worst, while doctors come second."

A Representative from Pennsylvania is emphatic in his view: "We have regimented the farmer, regimented labor and regimented the manufacturer. The next thing will be the regimentation of medicine and the doctors. I can see no help unless the people who are not interested in regimentation let the lawmakers know that they are opposed to that form of government." Others, then, besides the doctor, must express themselves.

### General Conclusions

An effort has here been made to give adequate representation to the significant replies on each side of the questions raised. Apparently, considerable attention is paid by lawmakers to letters from constituents unknown to them, and the degree of influence depends on the content of the letter as it may be judged to express the reasoned opinion of the writer. Far less attention is paid to petitions, though they may sometimes have weight. Tele-

grams, postcards, and letters showing evidence of mere repetition of ideas supplied by mobilized pressure groups are given slight attention, and are readily recognized for what they are.

We can assure our hypothetical doctor, who is interested in a public question, that he will not be regarded as a meddler when he writes his Senator and Congressman, especially if he makes clear, briefly, the reasons for his approval or disapproval of legislation. He may also go a step farther and explain the

nature of a law to others so that they, too, in their own language, may register their views. He is the man, at long last, who will be called upon to deliver the medical care which is the subject matter of proposed legislation, and if he knows good reasons why certain laws will work, and others will not, he may properly see to it that they are presented to the men who make our laws. In fact, it may even be that his Senator and Congressman are waiting to hear from him.

## PUBLIC RELATIONS FOR A RAILROAD

By THOMAS W. PARRY, JR.

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In the days when "uppers" were at a premium and "standing room only" was the order of the day in railroad coaches, many railroad employees had earned the reputation of possessing an indifferent—frequently insulting—manner toward the passengers whose fares helped pay their wages. With notable exceptions, ticket sellers, conductors, porters, even brakemen acted as if passengers should be humbly grateful for

riding on their line. Frequently they were openly hostile when they felt that passengers' requests exceeded their privileges.

Although management never encouraged this attitude, it did little to discourage it. It certainly knew that such an attitude existed generally, not only among its rank and file workers, but among a fair percentage of its white collar employees, including some subordinate executives and department heads. Responsibility for that condition, therefore, must be placed squarely upon the shoulders of management.

The fact of the matter is that management, in those days, was too busy making money to devote any

thought or time to the important job of "service after the sale."

Constructive employee and customer relations, two of the most vital phases of intelligent public relations, were vague intangibles which were beneath the attention of management. There were, of course, some commendable exceptions even in the days preceding 1929. But, generally speaking, the passenger was treated simply as a parcel, a source of revenue. The handling of public relations was, in many cases, delegated to an advertising manager or a glorified clerk whose only direct contact with management was on those occasions when somebody wanted a story kept out of the papers.

The fact that bus and air lines during this same period were cutting deeply into the passenger revenues of railroads was attributed by rail management to lower fares in the case of buses and, in the case of air lines, to a passing public fancy. Not until buses and airplanes had become synonymous with service and courtesy in the mind of the travelling public did railroad management begin to concede that, after all, there might be something to this business of cordial and equitable public relations.

Railroads then began to act. Top-rank executives began to devote their personal attention to the job of building and *deserving* friendly, and there-

fore mutually profitable, relations with their public. As a result, the average passenger train of today is generations beyond that of a brief five years ago with its dust and cinders, its nineteenth century accommodations.

Where five years ago criticism was general, it is not uncommon today for the public voluntarily to praise the railroads.

Because of the transition which has taken place in a comparatively short period, it will be interesting to cite as an example a leading railroad serving the Southeast and Southwest; to review the attitudes, policies and practices which, as recently as four years ago, either resulted in public apathy or brought forth unfavorable public response; to trace the inception and development of a program of public relations through which public apathy has been transformed into public enthusiasm and voluntary and vocal commendation for the progressiveness of this railroad.

### **Discovering the Trouble**

When, four years ago, it was decided to launch a comprehensive long-range program of public relations, it was the chief executive and two of his associates who analyzed the need and charted the course for such a program. A personal letter outlining objectives of the new program and urging the active coopera-

tion of all employees was written by the head of this railroad and sent to *every* employee, from section workers to major executives.

Responsibility for execution of the program was assumed by J. R. Coulter, newly-appointed general traffic manager, who possessed an extraordinarily keen appreciation of mass and class psychology. "This job has been known as that of 'general traffic manager' ever since the first railroad was built," he said, "but a more correct designation should be 'general sales manager.' Railroads are years behind other industries when it comes to modern selling. My job as general sales manager of a railroad is no different from that of the general sales manager of a food industry or an automobile manufacturer. We must find out what the travelling public will be wanting six months from now and give it to them today."

The first phase of this program—and one that is being continued today as a permanent policy—was a thorough fact-finding survey. The purpose was to determine what the public was thinking; what the employees were thinking and why; in what respects the road was falling short of public expectations and desires.

Many of the findings in this survey were a revelation to management. Some which might have appeared trivial were actually of far-

reaching significance. Take, for example, the case of a minor employee in a medium-sized city who for years had been misusing his authority. This came to light one day when the railroad was accorded a civic ceremony in connection with the launching of a new train. In order that photographs might be made before the train departed, the city's mayor graciously agreed to a "preview" of the ceremony. He was driven to the station in an unmistakably "official" car which his chauffeur quite naturally parked in the station lot adjoining the train. Whereupon the railroad employee, one of whose duties was supervision of the parking-lot, addressed a few bitter remarks to the mayor on the presumptuousness of city officials who parked their cars in "reserved" space. Subsequently it was revealed that this employee's consistently belligerent attitude had been creating ill will over a period of several years.

When this same train was taken on a tour of a dozen cities just prior to the beginning of regular service, it was visited by heads of various civic and women's organizations and city officials. A prominent clubwoman remarked to a conductor on the modern innovations in one of the cars, pointing out how they would add to the passengers' comforts.

"Just a bunch of gadgets," the conductor replied. "The public doesn't care anything about all these

modern frills. You've noticed they haven't brought back the 'old days' when people used to fight for a seat." Until a few years ago a fair percentage of railroad workers were still living in the "old days," refusing to accept the fact that new ideas and new methods always must supplant the old.

"How can you expect to sell the public when your own employees aren't sold?" the clubwoman asked a railroad official that evening.

During a period of several months passengers were urged to submit criticisms of the railroad and its services. One day the *same* criticism was received from three passengers. Clad in dirty overalls, a brakeman carrying a coffee pail had walked through the diner of a crack train, paused a moment to chat with another employee. What would you think if the electrician, coffee pail in hand, walked through the Waldorf dining room at the height of the dinner hour?

Another time a passenger wrote that he had always wondered why the heavy iron grille separated the ticket-seller and purchaser. Now he knew. It was for the protection of gruff and unaccommodating ticket-sellers. But for the grille, irate passengers would be at their throats.

Perhaps the most plausible explanation for this attitude of apathy—and in some cases brusqueness—on the part of some railroad em-

ployees, lay in the fact that, as recently as four or five years ago, there existed a generally defeatist attitude among a majority of railroad employees. This sense of frustration extended up even among some officers. Unregulated trucks were slashing freight rates below the point where railroads could compete; barge lines were operating in channels deepened at public expense; airplanes and buses were cutting into passenger revenues; rates were too low and wages too high. So what was the use? Traffic solicitors simply weren't fighting for business.

Possibly rates are still too low and some wages disproportionately high. But the fact remains that five years ago this railroad, along with the great majority of others, was still indulging in wishful thinking; still trying to solve its problems with the perspective of 1920 when there was less regulation, virtually no competition, and apparently no economic penalty following upon a "public be damned" policy.

### **Relations with Employees**

Obviously the solution for the situation we have reviewed called, among other activities, for an intelligent and intensive program of public relations, with emphasis on the development of a better understanding between employers and employees.

With the full approval and active cooperation of top executives, this



job was undertaken by the newly-appointed general traffic manager—"sales manager." He reasoned rightly that the blame for employee apathy must be shared by management. The fact of the matter was that the men had never been told, had never been urged to submit suggestions and criticisms for the good of the company. Too frequently a suggestion, which never came to the attention of an executive, was answered with a rebuff from a chief clerk: when management wanted suggestions it would ask for them. Naturally, men were afraid to make too many suggestions. It might impair their jobs.

So along with the new policy of public relations went the problem of employee and public education.

The employee who had been rude to the mayor in the parking-lot episode was called to headquarters office for a friendly talk with the president and the general traffic manager. He was not threatened with discharge. He was shown how his attitude was building ill will for the railroad, how ill will must inevitably result in loss of business and how less business would ultimately affect his pay envelope. He was assured that repetition of such rudeness would result in drastic action. It probably was the first time he had been called before top executives. He was sincerely appreciative of their helpful attitude and when he left their office

he was imbued with a new spirit of cooperation.

Others whose cases have been cited—the conductor, ticket-sellers behind grilles, the brakeman parading through the diner with his coffee pail—were similarly handled. During a series of "sales meetings," where round-table discussion was encouraged, fellow employees cited these episodes as examples of what had happened in some other organization—"of course, that would never happen on our line, but it affords a good example of public reaction to such behavior."

Those sales meetings which were conceived by the new general traffic manager as a main feature of the public relations program have proved universally popular with the men. Not only have they strengthened employee morale, but they have also brought forth several suggestions which were worth money to the railroad. At the first of these meetings the general traffic manager, who always conducts them, assured his employees that "nothing you say will be held against you. If you'll really take your hair down and tell us what's wrong with this road and what you believe should be done to correct it, these meetings will be of real value to all of us. But if they resolve into mutual-admiration sessions we're simply wasting time."

Enthusiastic response was spontaneous and continues so today after

four years. At one meeting the matter of expense accounts of traffic solicitors was brought up. A major executive through whose office these monthly accounts are approved facetiously referred to the consistency of the amounts—"invariably just a few cents under the limit."

"Don't you believe the men spend that much?" queried the manager of a local office.

"No, I don't," replied the executive.

"If you'll agree to come to my office unannounced and spend two days there going around with some of these men, I'll convince you that the majority of them lose money every month on their expense accounts. Of course, there are bound to be a few exceptions in any organization this large."

Like many other railroads, this road for years had published a magazine for employees, running from twenty-four to forty-eight pages monthly. The printing firm, whose revenue came partly from advertising, was in charge of solicitation. Most of the advertisers were firms which sold equipment and supplies to the railroad, and local banks in which funds were deposited. Fully 50 per cent of the editorial space was given over to personals, read by the persons concerned. The survey was extended to draw comments regard-

ing this magazine from advertisers and employees.

"It's a type of racket," confided one advertiser, "against which I've always held a secret grudge. We advertise simply because we feel we have to."

"Rather dull," ran the comments of many employees. "Most of the items we might be interested in reading we knew about two weeks before the magazine was published."

So the magazine was discontinued. In its place is published an eight-page house organ. It is designed to sell the railroad to employees and to inspire employees to sell the railroad to the public. Advertising is not accepted.

#### **Improved Service**

Instead of waiting for a return of the "old days" before the advent of trucks and airplanes, this road set about meeting competition with improved service and equipment, faster schedules. And along with these improvements has come a vigorous, aggressive era of selling.

Service improvements are gauged to meet public wants which are constantly being determined through surveys conducted through the road's public relations counsel. Among the innovations are the combination sleeper-diner-coach, the "snack car," and a freight train that maintains passenger schedules.

All these improvements have resulted in more cordial and mutually profitable relations not only with the shipping and travelling public, but also with employees. They are taking pride in their railroad and, consequently, are continually submitting suggestions for the good of the organization.

These suggestions are encouraged through the "Forward Plan," which has been in operation about two years. Every suggestion—and there are scores every month—is carefully analyzed. If practicable, it is adopted. But every suggestion, whether adopted or not, is acknowledged by the chief executive in one of whose departments the suggestion falls. It is not a perfunctory acknowledgment. If the action proposed is not undertaken the reason is thoroughly stated.

The fact that this "Forward Plan" is working successfully without the stimulus of cash awards or prizes is good proof that employees, if given the opportunity, are anxious to contribute, to feel that they are a vital part of the organization.

An example of a valuable suggestion was that made by a member of a section gang. Padlocks on toilets along the right-of-way were not standardized; consequently, the road sustained an appreciable monthly loss in breakage. Frankly stating that most of employees had "broken a

lock or two," he asked, "Why not make these locks all the same so our key will fit any of them?" Now they are standardized and an unnecessary expense has been eliminated.

### Publicity

An intelligent program of publicity—not ballyhoo—is an integral phase of this new public relations policy.

Every news story is submitted solely on its merits *as news*. There exists a hard rule that no one, through friendship or the promise of advertising, shall ever request an editor or reporter to publish a story. To endeavor to go through the advertising or business office with a so-called news story is a cardinal sin.

Furthermore, a real effort is made to give individual newspapers what they want, handled in the manner they want it. Here's an example:

This railroad annually pays several millions in taxes to nine states and hundreds of municipalities. Until four years ago, one stereotyped story—rather badly mimeographed—was sent to every "on-line" newspaper in those nine states. Comparatively few published it. Now that tax story, legibly multigraphed, is written in hundreds of different forms to fit the editorial requirements of the individual newspaper. The story mailed to the *Record of Okmulgee*, Okla., is broken down to

state the amount of taxes paid to (1) Oklahoma; (2) the county in which Okmulgee is located and (3) the city of Okmulgee. It is broken down further to indicate the proportions of the total which go for support of public schools, general revenue and other purposes.

Because it contains news of real interest to their readers, this story is published today by more than 85 per cent of the newspapers which receive it.

Whenever prominent figures book transportation on this railroad, newspapers of all cities en route are notified, frequently by telegram. If, at the last minute, the reservation is cancelled, these same papers are promptly advised. Likewise, when officials of the road are travelling to other cities, editors are advised of time of arrival, purpose of visit, and where the official may most likely be reached.

Regardless of its sincerity of

purpose, any major railroad which serves hundreds of communities occasionally will be the object of bitter editorial attacks protesting a change in schedule, elimination of a stop, or discontinuance of service. Whenever such an editorial is published against this road, the facts are thoroughly and personally investigated. Officials and citizens of the affected community are interviewed. If, after this investigation, the railroad is convinced that its case is just and sound, it presents all the facts to the newspaper editor. In the majority of cases the editorial attack ceases. If, on the other hand, the railroad is convinced that it is unjustly or unnecessarily injuring the community's welfare, revisions are made.

Publicity is not a matter of trying to force so-called news of questionable merit. It is a dignified and factual exposition of an enlightened program of public relations. Publicity by itself will not do the job.

## THE PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELLOR'S JOB

By WILLIAM H. BALDWIN

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*tion was described in the October 1937 issue of the QUARTERLY.*

What should the public reasonably expect from a public relations counsellor? How does his function

differ from that of publicity director or of advertising agent?

Public relations is an all-inclusive term which embraces all human relations in the conduct of business, from the impression which the switchboard operator gives in handling incoming telephone calls to the impression which the corporation president makes in a public hearing of a Senate investigating committee.

Advertising and publicity, on the other hand, are methods for achieving objectives in public relations. In advertising one buys white space in publications or time on the air. One then proceeds to do with that space or time exactly what he wants. Thus advertising is a clear-cut, tangible proposition which permits of developing a detailed program for a year in advance—or ten years, for that matter. The message can be one either of selling a single product or of creating good will for the sponsoring corporation as a whole.

In publicity there is no possibility of blue-printing in advance. Publicity is the creation of the news or human interest potentialities in a given product or corporation, and their presentation to the editors and radio commentators in competition with other news of the day. The function of the publicity man is to carry out this program, his ability being measured by the amount of his material which wins acceptance.

It is a logical development that the trained and successful publicity man often becomes a public relations counsellor. I say often, because there are many instances where this natural evolution is not effected. Advertising or sales managers of large corporations frequently retain publicity services to aid in merchandising a given product, and the individual or agency so retained has no connection with, and therefore no responsibility for, the larger problem of the parent corporation's relations with the various groups which compose the public. But a publicity director retained for a program restricted to merchandising a product is often able to demonstrate to the management that there is an intimate and a direct relationship between public acceptance of a product and public good will for the producer. Thus publicity may evolve into public relations.

On the other hand, a public relations program which is not implemented with product publicity is so much fantasy; and a public relations counsellor who is not capable in the several fields of publicity development, and who—more importantly still—is not directly responsible for the successful development of these several fields, will be unsuccessful.

It has been said that the difference between public relations and publicity is exactly that between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. To my way of thinking, the difference is

measured by the scope allowed not only as to objectives but also to the material made available for publicity development in all its branches. And that difference may well be great.

If the above approach to a complex and largely uncharted phase of business is accepted, there should be general agreement that public relations is a recognition that, in this day and age, the public is a partner in business and that it must be kept properly informed if the business is to prosper. The management of these relations then becomes a business function which requires specific attributes.

The public relations counsellor must have not only a thorough training and experience in the mechanics of publicity, but also a broad understanding of the social, economic, and political forces which play upon public opinion. It is just as much his function to interpret public opinion to his client, and to show how current enthusiasms and prejudices affect his client's interests, as it is to interpret the client to the public.

He must be more than "an idea man." Vital as vision and imagination are to successful public relations, the creation of ideas is an irresponsible pastime unless those ideas can be put into effect.

He must also be temperamentally adjusted to working for and through his client. He is not a pub-

lic spokesman. At the same time he is not a bodyguard. He must sense when requests for press interviews should be honored, and so inform his principal.

Having established a confidential relationship with his client, he should be in intimate contact with policy-making officials and should stress continuously the basic fact that successful public relations are developed first in *doing* the right things in the right way, and only then in telling about them.

With the press, confidence in the public relations counsellor can be developed only as he builds up a reputation for being a reliable and readily accessible source of contact with the officials and activities of a client in matters of news interest. Having established that relationship, he will maintain it by prompt, accurate, and trustworthy servicing of the press with news which not only is legitimate but also is properly prepared and timed. Important in this servicing is his reputation for playing no favorites. When he is sure of his ground and a situation makes such action advisable, he may promote mutual respect and cooperation between an editor and his client by an "off the record" discussion.

The public relations counsellor, in short, serves his clients best who serves the press and the other media of public information honestly.



## BOOK REVIEWS

YOUNG, EUGENE J., *Looking Behind the Censorships*. New York: Lipincott, 1938. 368 pp. (\$3.00)

McKENZIE, VERNON, *Through Turbulent Years*. New York: McBride. 304 pp. (\$2.75)

These two authors, each with more than a decade of professional experience as a basis of judgment, agree that the technique of public enlightenment in international affairs developed since the war has failed in its original intent. It fills the naïve with misinformation and makes things more difficult for the expert. "In the days before publicity became so all-pervading," says Mr. Young, "it was much easier to gauge what was going on in international activities. Before the World War such affairs were in the hands of practitioners who made no bones of their realisms."

"I think it is ridiculous," Napoleon once wrote to Murat, "that you should oppose me with the opinions of these Westphalians. Who cares what the peasants think, in

political matters?" A public fed by press, radio, and cinema is another matter—as dangerous to dictators as to the democratic statesman. So instead of altering the "realisms" both democrat and Führer have built the present elaborate machine for manipulating public opinion into support of policies it is not allowed to understand. Mr. Young and Mr. McKenzie are equally well acquainted with the machine's working, from the Foreign Office in London to the so-happily-named Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment in Berlin.

Mr. McKenzie gives the formula for a dictator's Utopia: (1) a national radio hook-up which would reach to each part of the frontier, and no farther; (2) a barrier, either by static or jamming, which would prevent radio reception within the state of broadcasts from critical or unfriendly countries; (3) newspapers of the state would not be read outside; (4) foreign newspapers would be confiscated at the frontier. The only thing then needed to bring our

culture to its ultimate flower would be to elevate the land frontiers to the heavens by means of a balloon-barrage. Although it still is short of this Utopian state, Mr. Young, in his book, shows how it has been put to practical use in international affairs. The Nazi propaganda machine has used it deliberately to create war scares; England and France, when need arose, have differed only in showing greater finesse; the "built-up legend of Mussolini" has successfully obscured the fact that the Vatican and House of Savoia are still his rivals in the loyalties of the Italian people.

Mr. Young has edited foreign news for thirty-five years, first on the old *New York World* and now as Cable Editor of the *New York Times*. There is nothing, however, to show that he thinks members of the profession should share the blame with censors and diplomats for the inadequacy of enlightenment about foreign affairs. His omission is rather too bad for the sequence of this review. An English news-weekly, *Cavalcade*, in its issue of July 9 gave two columns to his book, calling it the work of the "well-known student of foreign affairs, Eugene J. Lyons," and devoting the whole space to the theory of "Commentator Lyons" that King Edward really was forced to abdicate because of his pro-Germanism. Eugene Lyons wrote *Assignment in Utopia*; the solitary

chapter which Mr. Young gives to the abdication is about the least convincing in the book.

*Cavalcade* is no unique sinner, merely unfortunate to arrive opportunely as an example of how carelessness, ignorance, and the flair for a "good story" combine to make journalism's private Dr. Goebbels. Mr. McKenzie is Director of the School of Journalism of the University of Washington, and from that more detached position he makes the point which Mr. Young ignores. The criteria of news selection, he says, are socially unsound, and not solely because of the preference for the sensational above the important. These few paragraphs are worth pondering, if for no other reason than that the author is aware of the part which such normally praiseworthy things as the competitive spirit play in distorting the news. The press of Italy, Germany, and the U.S.S.R. have been quite thoroughly cleansed of crime and sex and still remain some distance, to say the least, from socially sound news judgment in the sense meant by Mr. McKenzie.

Since Mr. Young is an executive of a foreign news service which is almost unequalled for intelligence as well as for thoroughness, his failure to deal with this phase of the subject as comprehensively as Mr. McKenzie does is disappointing. Even the opening chapter on the

work of correspondents under censorship is obviously written by a desk man with a somewhat romantic notion of the hazards run by his men in the field. For example, about the last thing on a correspondent's mind is fear of expulsion. Unless he has been guilty of some glaring misrepresentation, expulsion is more apt to help his career than to hurt it. The fact that censor and newspaperman work at cross purposes does build up prejudices which, however hard he resists, are apt to influence the correspondent's attitude toward the country in which he is stationed. But the censor is negligible, created to be outwitted, except in one of his functions. Censorship cuts off the news from the source. That also can be outwitted, but years of familiarity with the scene are needed to do it. Mr. Young ought to know, for his book is a very fine example of how it is done.

Neither he nor Mr. McKenzie is writing primarily about news, propaganda and public opinion, which concern them only as the manipulation of opinion affects the course of foreign affairs. Mr. McKenzie's is a personalized report of his observations, interviews, and conclusions on the latest of many visits to Europe. The most interesting chapters are those on Germany, especially the classification of top-rank Nazis as "moderates," "extremists," and "unattached." Mr. Young's is on a larger

scale, and an extraordinarily well-rounded study. He says, and proves, that it is still possible to understand international events in spite of the ballyhoo. The trick "consists in finding how the old realisms operate beneath the false pretenses." The story of the rapid change in international affairs which began with the economic crisis and the invasion of Manchuria has been written a number of times, but not often with such perspective. Obviously there are gaps and conclusions based only on the surmises of his own newspaper's correspondents—who are good but not omniscient—but he manages to fit the pieces together almost as neatly as if it all happened long ago.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States 1922* (Publications 1155 and 1156). Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1938. 2 vols., 1075 pp., and 1042 pp. (\$1.75 each)

With the publication of these bulky volumes containing diplomatic communications and documents for the year 1922, the Department of State has practically overcome the long publication lag in its Foreign Relations series. The program henceforth calls for annual volumes to be issued fifteen years

after the period with which the materials deal—a delay made necessary by the reluctance of certain foreign governments to permit earlier disclosures. Manifestly, such tardy revelation of diplomatic policies and negotiations cannot directly affect the democratic process in *current* foreign relations. Yet the dynamics and conditions of the democratic process in the exercise of what Locke called the “federative” power are not modified in a few years, and political analysts interested in the field readily testify to the great value of the Foreign Relations series as source material.

The compilation for 1922 constitutes no exception. At the outset of the first volume, the mass of documents on the Washington Conference reveal frequent references by Secretary of State Hughes and others to the probable public reaction to this or that proposal. Useful though the invocation of this sometimes mythical public may have been, simply as an instrument of diplomatic persuasion, the “man of the street” of whom Mr. Hughes spoke (p. 190) was a very real factor in conference negotiations. Final evaluation of this factor is still wanting.

Examination of another phase of the State Department's public relations is facilitated by these volumes. The year 1922 marked an early stage in the feverish post-war scramble for oil concessions and trading and investment opportunities in foreign

countries. Private enterprise naturally sought to enlist the aid of appropriate agencies of government in its behalf, and a familiar political pattern appears in many of these pages. The cautious scholar recognizes that motivation, influence, and “pressure” cannot be finally established. A political responsiveness to the appeals of businessmen seeking profit fades imperceptibly into official probity concerned with plotting policy in accordance with prevailing conceptions of national interest. In any event, abundant materials for the study of this political situation are available in the sections dealing with the recognition of Albania (where Sinclair interests sought oil concessions), the project for sending an economic investigating commission to Soviet Russia, the support given the Chester Concessions in Turkey, the protracted controversy with Mexico over oil legislation, and bankers' negotiations of loans to Cuba, Haiti, and other countries.

Unfortunately, but inevitably, the index is designed for international lawyers and diplomatic historians; students of public opinion and pressure groups will, however, find the detailed table of contents serviceable and thereafter must depend on patient “digging.”

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MULLETT, CHARLES F., *The British Empire*. New York: Henry Holt, 1938. 768 pp. (\$5.00)

Dr. Mullett, of the University of Missouri, has produced a very useful textbook on the British Empire.

The author describes the British Empire as "the most extensive if not the most important political organization of the modern world." In setting out "to trace, and in tracing to explain" the growth and unfolding of that great creation of the peoples of the British Isles, Dr. Mullett follows a convention which is no doubt appropriate for an historical textbook. He tells the tale year by year, country by country, colony by colony. This, that, and the other happened, under this, that, or the other leader, or economic pressure, or political exigencies. All this is what we expect the student to learn. It is the proper beginning. It may be much more.

But one cannot help feeling that in an empire where that which we may call for convenience democratic principles has been proclaimed, public opinion and the processes by which it has been made, or submerged, resisted, or suborned, should also have a high place in the telling of the tale. There is a need for a continuous recognition of this view.

The British Empire provides an attractive field of exploration in this

connection, and one is tempted to go further and suggest that, by virtue of the relative detachment of the American student, here is a great opportunity for an enthusiast on this side of the Atlantic. Such a task demands enthusiasm if the formidable obstacles are to be overcome, and it will call for immense patience if the requisite body of basic material is to be assembled and arranged on an adequate scale. I suggest that no one over twenty-five need apply for the honor.

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SWAIN, JOSEPH WARD, *Beginning the Twentieth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1938. Revised and enlarged edition, 772 pp. (\$4.25)

Mr. Swain's *Beginning the Twentieth Century* appeared originally in 1933 with the sub-title *A History of the Generation that Made the War*. It was welcomed as a vigorous interpretive study, of value not only for the general reader but for teachers who wished to supplement the usual texts by collateral reading. The point of view, though not cheering, was fresh and challenging. Rejecting alike economic determinism and democratic faith in progress, Mr. Swain made nationalism—or chauvinism, as he preferred to call it—the center of his story. Recognizing the generous idealism of nationalism,

he insisted that pressure groups with selfish interests were able so easily and so completely to make patriotism serve their purposes that nationalism became the curse of the generation after 1890. Undoubtedly, in trying to prove his contention, Mr. Swain was sometimes driven to extreme statements, even to contradictions. These defects reappear in the new edition. On page 248, Anglo-German relations "grew steadily worse," as was shown by British resentment against the treaty dividing the Portuguese colonies in 1898. On page 255, "good relations prevailed between the two countries," and the treaty dividing the Portuguese colonies was proof of the good relations! The portrait of Sir Edward Grey—completely honest and completely stupid, "Sir Galahad among the diplomats"—does violence to the facts.

These, however, were venial sins. The student of public opinion, in particular, could forgive them, in his gratitude for a book which emphasized the pressures determining official action. Navy leagues and army leagues, big business and little business, editors looking for circulation and editors looking for bribes, these and many other individuals and groups were shown at work. If it was not always clear how they worked, or how effective their work was, this could be excused on the

ground that accurate measures were non-existent.

The new edition bears a new sub-title, *A History of Europe from 1870*. Apparently it is intended for textbook use, but it is doubtful if it will serve this purpose. The book falls into four divisions, each of approximately equal length: internal affairs of Europe, 1870-1914; international relations in the same years; the war; the peace, and post-war Europe. These proportions are not likely to find general approval. The material on the years before 1890 and after 1920 is very sketchy—diplomacy from 1870 to 1884 receives only three of the 180 pages devoted to international relations before the war. The new material was also, apparently, hastily assembled—S. Parker Gilbert appears as Gilbert Parker, and General von Blomberg thrice appears as Blumberg.

One can only regret this transformation of a good interpretive study into a defective textbook.

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ANDERSON, WILLIAM, *American Government*. New York: Henry Holt, 1938. 1080 pp. (\$5.00)

Professor Anderson's book will doubtless become the leading text for beginning college courses in political science. It merits that high rating. Of course, students of public



opinion will be less interested in the volume as an aid to beginning college instruction in government than as an influence on subsequent instruction and workmanship respecting public opinion and related phenomena. This particular interest calls for some comment on Professor Anderson's chapters on "The Vital Forces of Politics" and "Democracy and Public Opinion" (Chapters XX and XXI). But it calls, also, for comment on the basic conceptions underlying the entire volume.

The broadly-visioned eclecticism which characterizes Professor Anderson's interest is clearly evidenced in these two chapters which touch most closely upon the phenomena of public opinion. This is a feature that is likely to have considerable influence upon instruction at higher levels. Advanced courses on public opinion, particularly in political science departments, fall roughly into two types. In one, the emphasis is upon speculation and discussion. Public opinion is broadly considered as an imponderable which somehow exerts tremendous force and pressure in political life. On the other hand, there are courses which place emphasis upon close observation, analysis, and measurement of particular attitudes and modes or trends of attitude. Previous texts used in underclass instruction have directed interest almost solely to speculative discussion of public opinion. Thus among political

scientists, the mystery of public opinion has become darker and darker, or has been resolved by political fundamentalism of a rather dogmatic character, as rough and ready discussion has gone on its speculative way.

Professor Anderson's chapters on public opinion direct attention and curiosity to new as well as old approaches and skills. For those who will later wish to dwell in the realm of speculation, he provides some introduction to broad hypotheses. And for those who will later wish to encourage the development of new skills and of more pointed description and analysis, he mentions some basic analyses and findings which can be followed up with realism and precision.

As respects the general ordering of the volume, Professor Anderson explains that he has intended it as "a more thorough trial of the functional arrangement." It is important that students of public opinion understand the direction in which this "greater thoroughness" is moving. The traditional arrangement of government texts has been "structural." Such an emphasis has given undue attention to the formalities to be found in the processes of governing and being governed. Thus public opinion and related phenomena, which are highly informal, have been sadly neglected, save for anecdotal treatment sporadically injected to

make the formalities live. The so-called "functional" arrangement has developed principally as an instructional tonic to stimulate jaded student appetites. The tonic has amounted to little more than a reshuffling of menus, the food being the same except for addition of some broad statements of ends of governance, which have not aided greatly in analysis or digestion.

Now Professor Anderson's volume looks in the direction of a real advance beyond "functionalism." That is its great merit. This advance is to be noted particularly at spots where there has been addition of material "not usually dealt with in the texts." The most realistic description of the advance is that Professor Anderson has dealt with features of the governing processes which occur and reoccur in actual situations. The best work in study of public opinion will come when more students turn from broad speculation to observation and analysis of particular opinions developed in recurring situations. Moreover, participants in the processes of governing and being governed encounter "government" in actual situations.

Professor Anderson has made a number of distinct breaks with the traditional picturing of government as a sort of super-affair under which people live. The theme of his writing is that we live in government, not under it. This theme has been imple-

mented by process-situation-feature analysis. Government as people acting in actual situations cannot be marked out too rapidly, but this volume makes a notable beginning. When underclassmen are introduced to a more vital and realistic view of the processes of governing, there will be less to unlearn and more to develop in advanced courses. Analysis of public opinion and related phenomena will be greatly enhanced by the instructional advance evidenced in this volume.

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BERTRAM, JAMES M., *First Act in China: The Story of the Sian Mutiny*. New York: Viking Press, 1938. 283 pp. (\$3.00)

It is no mere coincidence that this young author has helped Edgar Snow smash the sedentary system of reporting, traditionally followed by old China newspaper hands. In 1936, James Bertram served as an assistant to the chief Far Eastern correspondent of the *London Daily Herald*. A New Zealander, he had been educated as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and had received an additional fellowship for study in China. Sojourning at Peiping, he also became a freelance writer. Then Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped.

Under the protective guidance of a radical Chinese supporter of

Marshal Chiang Hseuh-liang, leader of the kidnapers, Bertram hastened to Shensi. After many vicissitudes, which he charmingly describes in his book, he penetrated the blockade of Central Government troops—only to find that the noted captive had literally flown. Undaunted, he set about gathering authentic first-hand material of the abduction which shook the world for fourteen days, poised China on the brink of internecine destruction for another forty-one, and accelerated the final show-down between China and Japan.

While *First Act in China* may not be as profound a volume as Edgar Snow's account of the Chinese Soviets, it is nevertheless an essential source book for those who wish to follow the motives and actions of the patriotic "kidnappers" during those fateful last days of 1936 in the northwestern loess highlands of China. On the whole, Bertram has done an excellent job of reporting. The account from beginning to end is engagingly written and is well illustrated with photographs. The foreword is a streamlined but lucid sketch of the parlous state of Sino-Japanese relations before December 12, 1936.

The outstanding merit of this version of the Chiang abduction is the author's uncanny ability to understand and to portray the mingled hopes and fears of the kidnapers, particularly their belief that the kid-

napping was justified as an instrument of national policy. For this understanding, the author has his three young Chinese friends to thank.

They were the most rabid anti-Japanese subordinates of the Young Marshal's entire entourage. They brought him into intimate touch with the moving spirits of the nationalist cabal. He was made the recipient of inside information from the counsel tables of the three major military forces which formed the hi-jacking coalition at Sian—the Northeastern troops of the Young Marshal; the Shensi provincial armies of General Yang Hu-cheng; and the battalions of China's Red Napoleon, General Chou En-lai, which were bivouacked beyond the walls of Sian. They even made it possible for him to fraternize with the stormy American petrel of the Chinese Communists, Agnes Smedley. In short, because they liked and trusted him, they unlocked all sorts of doors.

Under such felicitous circumstances it is not surprising that Bertram impressionistically emphasizes the personal and human angles of his tale—or that he reports the end of his personal adventure in journalism by describing the whispered message that floated vividly out of a darkened Sian "Guest House" one midnight: "Your three friends, Miao and Sung and Ying, are dead. They were shot tonight." The next

day, he returned to Peiping. His Chinese Baedekers had been eliminated in the counter-revolt.

In a China overflowing with new wine, Bertram was not content to sit at a comfortable treaty-port office and re-bottle stale beverages. He wanted to get at the news—and did. He was able to predict, months before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, that China was already conscious of itself as a nation and fully intended to resist to the death the challenge of Japanese imperialism.

The dangers of public misinformation that arise from the old methods of reporting news from the Orient are never more apparent than in the present instance. A comparison of the garbled news stories that emanated from the pens of Western correspondents in China at the moment of Generalissimo Chiang's kidnapping with the straightforward account of Bertram is sufficient evidence. It remained for Bertram and his colleague, Snow, to demonstrate convincingly that first-class journalism was as possible in China as in the Occident. And that Chinese politics is neither vain nor unfathomable but simply a question of good background knowledge of Asia and the proper application of the best techniques of Western news reporting to the exigencies of Far Eastern political situations.

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FROST, S. E., JR., *Education's Own Stations*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937. 481 pp. (\$4.00)

I am in favor of reviewing books a year after they have been published. Under such circumstances, we would have fewer book reviews and a better circulation of good books.

This volume by Dr. Frost is an extremely important document, for both educators and the broadcasters, for it contains the detailed record of American educators' first attempts to use this medium as a part of their own educational institutions. What is lacking—and the book does not attempt to cover this subject—is the broadcasters' efforts to work with educators on sustaining time on the broadcasters' own stations. Fortunately for America, the commercial broadcasters have cooperated extensively with educational institutions all over the country, lending their facilities and sometimes financial support for educational programs which they consider "good radio."

In spite of Dr. Frost's gloomy record of failure of the great majority of "education's own stations" (of the 202 studied during the period of 1921 through 1936, a total of 164 were either permitted to expire, transferred to other interests, or revoked), the educators have not done quite as badly with radio as they did with the movies. The curse of the

name "education" still remains, as is evidenced by a recent article in the *New York Evening Post* by Leonard Carlton entitled "Educational Programs Are Audience Poison." "There is a widespread feeling in radio circles," Mr. Carlton says, "that the best way for a program to lose its audience is to announce itself as an educational feature. There's something in that notion. The classroom and the broadcasting studio have entered into partnership at times, but neither leg of the combination has felt quite at home in the other's company."

This is an extremely unfortunate situation, but the attitude is not confined to radio circles. One of the greatest problems most of us who are working in the field of adult education have to face is that the word "education" is synonymous with the word "dull." Dr. Frost's record of education's own stations is added evidence that this handicap has been found by all educational broadcasters.

The record is not without its brighter side. In a number of places—notably the University of Florida, Iowa State College, State University of Iowa, Kansas State College, Ohio State University, University of California, and several others—results have been extremely gratifying in a number of ways.

I should like to read now Dr. Frost's new volume, *Is American*

*Radio Democratic?*<sup>1</sup> in which I understand he discusses conclusions drawn from these studies and the studies of educational broadcasting by the commercial chain.

The University of Chicago Press and Dr. Frost should be congratulated for having produced such a scholarly piece of work in a field which is daily assuming a wider significance for the future of American democracy. If Dr. Frost and the Press will continue to publish their objective studies of educational broadcasting they will be rendering invaluable service to the cause of an honestly informed public opinion

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.  
*President, The Town Hall, Inc.*

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ILG, RAY A., *Public Relations for Banks*. New York: Harper's, 1937. 235 pp. (\$3.00)

The book *Public Relations for Banks* by Ray A. Ilg, Vice-President of the National Shawmut Bank of Boston, should interest bankers wishing to review the relationships of their policies and practices to the public relations field. It facilitates self-analysis from the public relations angle, especially for banks which have not previously conducted activities in this field. Mr. Ilg presents detailed material covering bank operations and suggests wherein the

<sup>1</sup> Reviewed in the October 1938 issue of the *QUARTERLY*, 2: 698-700.—ED.



public relations viewpoint may be applied to various of these operations. He stresses the importance of the entire personnel's understanding the value of public relations procedures and their application to banking routines. Any bank employee applying the suggestions made will introduce an added factor into his work which should facilitate his organization's continued growth and its harmonious customer relationships.

This reviewer feels that there might be value in a series of public relations manuals covering leading industries, if prepared with adequate reference to the special problems and requirements of such industries.

In reading Mr. Ilg's book, some may feel the lack of a thorough consideration of the leading fundamental public relations problems of today, an adequate historical sketch of the reasons for the growth of the public relations movement, or a substantial presentation of a corporation's relationship to leading economic, social and political developments. Even in the case of the banks, their relationship to the broad public relations question might have been more fully treated. However, it may be that the author felt it wise to center his treatment upon routine banking practices.

Some pertinent quotations from the book: "The problem of business is to find what the public wants, make what the public wants, and give it to the public in a way that

it will like." "No employee should be allowed to have public contacts until he has a complete understanding of his institution." . . . "You should have the same working knowledge of competitive banks that you do of your own institution." These are rather tall orders, even for bank officers!

In its field, Mr. Ilg's book should serve a useful purpose. It is a welcome addition to the literature of a subject which badly needs more light and less ballyhoo. Perhaps we shall be favored by other books which will discuss some of the broader public relations questions which cry aloud for analysis, research, and case histories. A field in search of some authors!

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ELIASBERG, DR., *Reklamewissenschaften. Ein Lehrbuch auf soziologischer, volkswirtschaftlicher und psychologischer Grundlage.* Brunn: Verlag Rohrer, 1936. 464 pp.

———, *Frau und Propaganda. Ein lebendiges Konterfei der Frau gesehen im Spiegel der Propaganda.* Vienna: Verlag-Saturn, 1936.

———, *Arzt und Propaganda. Ein Stück medizinische Soziologie aus der ärztlichen Wirklichkeit.* Vienna: Verlag-Saturn, 1936.

Dr. Eliasberg is a doctor both of



medicine and of philosophy who until recently lived in Vienna and contributed extensively to the literature of several fields. Combining broad and exact training in general medicine, psychiatry, and psychology with special work in the social sciences, he is able to approach individual topics with a versatile equipment which often yields new and fruitful results. His published books include a study of the psychological processes involved in abstraction, a discussion of the problem child, of certain aspects of labor, and of the connection between psychology and legal administration.

With this background of experience it is easy to understand why Dr. Eliasberg's book on advertising differs widely from the scope of similar publications in English. He is concerned with the relationship between advertising and the whole context in which it operates. The sub-title quite correctly foreshadows the scope of the work when it indicates that the textbook is based on sociology, economics, and psychology. The eighteenth and nineteenth

lectures deal directly with propaganda (pp. 337 ff.). No doubt the most useful emphasis is upon the problem of adapting propaganda to the receptivities which are current in a given historical situation in which the propaganda is to be carried out.

This sense of the specific context is brought out in the brief books which Dr. Eliasberg has devoted to certain groups in relation to propaganda. The two volumes cited above (*Women and Propaganda*, *Physician and Propaganda*) were conceived as initial volumes in a long series of special treatises. In each case the interrelationship between propaganda and the historical situation of the group is carefully developed. The task is not only to consider the physician or the woman as one who uses propaganda, or who is used by means of propaganda, but to convey a sense of the way in which the resort to propaganda interacts upon the total situation of the group in question.

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Published by the American Jewish Committee, 461 Fourth Avenue, New York City. A section on "Recent Publications" presents brief reviews of books, pamphlets, and articles that are viewed by the editors as anti-Jewish propaganda.

HENIG, HARRY. *The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks* (Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia). New York: Columbia University, 1937. 300 pp.

Historical and descriptive study of one of the strong units in the U.S. railway industry. Bibliography, pp. 293-6.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ESPERANTISTS. *Kongreslibro* (Proceedings) of the Congress, London, 1938.

The agenda of this year's session of the Congress were devoted almost entirely to the problem of popularizing Esperanto.

LEVINSON, EDWARD. *Labor on the March*. New York: Harpers, 1938. 335 pp.

Current activities in the U.S. labor movement, described by a writer well known for many magazine articles on the subject. Bibliography, pp. 300-5.

MACDONALD, LOIS. *Labor Problems and the American Scene*. New York: Harpers, 1938. 878 pp.

College text by New York University economist. Bibliography, pp. 857-69.

MCDONOUGH, CHARLES. "Public Relations: A Suggested Plan for an Effective Public Relations Program," *Industrial Marketing*, October 1937, pp. 27-9.

*Public Administration Organizations: A Directory, 1938-1939*. Chicago: Public Administration Clearing House, 1938. 184 pp.

Fourth edition of this standard directory. "Lists and describes the voluntary, unofficial [U.S. and Canadian] associations, organizations, and agencies which have some direct or apparent relationship to the processes of Public Administration." 1937 edition cited 1,932 organizations; this one, 2,067. All are "at least state-wide [or Provincial] in scope."

REEVES, EARL. "The Railroads Point a Moral: The Public Will Listen to Business," *Nation's Business*, 26: 23-4 ff. (March 1938).

Finds that the successful publicity and public relations of U.S. railroads in recent years might serve as an example to other businesses.

REICH, NATHAN. *Labour Relations in Republican Germany: An Experiment in Industrial Democracy, 1918-1933*. New York: Oxford University, 1938. 293 pp.

By a social scientist at Hunter College. Bibliography, pp. 285-8.

REIS, BERNARD J. *False Security: The Betrayal of the American Investor*, with an introduction by John T. Flynn. New York: Equinox, 1937. 362 pp.

Inside stories of manipulated investment losses in the field of so-called "safe" investments over the past two decades. Based on court cases and official reports. The author discusses SEC and other proposed remedies, and concludes that none will be effective except a "nationwide non-profit investors' organization." Bibliography, pp. 339-47.

RIDGEWAY, GEORGE L. *Merchants of Peace: Twenty Years of Business Diplomacy through the International Chamber of Commerce, 1919-1938*. New York: Columbia University, 1938. 419 pp.

By Associate Professor of History, Wells College. Bibliographic footnotes.

"Self-Evident Subtlety," *Time*, August 1, 1938, p. 22.

U.S. Senate Civil Liberties Committee's investigation of promotional activities conducted by American Iron and Steel Institute through a publicity firm and a lecturer "sponsored" by "neutral" groups.

STRACHEY, JOHN. *What Are We To Do?* New York: Random House, 1938. 398 pp.

British Marxist's analysis of British and American labor movements. Bibliography, pp. 387-8.

VRIONIS, GEORGE S. "A Pattern for Public Relations: Program for Clients, Stockholders, the Bank Staff, Lawyers, and Life Underwriters," *Trust Companies*, 64: 673-7 (June 1937).

By an official of a trust company.

WOLFSON, THERESA; and WEISS, ABRAHAM. *Industrial Unionism in the American Labor Movement*. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1937. 51 pp.

Bibliography, pp. 49-52.

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS. *Youth Demands a Peaceful World: Report of the Second World Youth Congress*. New York: World Youth Congress, 1938. 52 pp.

### PART III. PROPAGANDA CLASSIFIED BY THE RESPONSE TO BE ELICITED

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL SECURITY. *Social Security in the United States, 1938*. New York, 1938. 254 pp.

Record of the Eleventh National Conference on Social Security (1938), with a census of social security in the United States.

JOHNSON, EDWIN C. "The Junior R.O.T.C. Knocks at the High School Door," *Clearing House*, 11: 460-4 (April 1937).

Efforts of the War Department to extend the scope of R.O.T.C. units in high schools and colleges met with relative success in the Chicago high schools,

relative failure in New York City. Article suggests some reasons for the discrepancy. Available as a reprint from Committee on Militarism in Education, 2929 Broadway, New York City.

KAEMPFERT, WALDEMAR. "Toward Bridging the Gaps Between the Sciences," *New York Times Book Review*, August 7, 1938, p. 2.

Science editor of *New York Times* reviews preliminary publications of the projected *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, whose editor-in-chief, Dr. Otto Neurath, states that it will seek an "integration of scientific statements, with all the discrepancies and difficulties which appear."

LENDE, HELGA, editor. *What of the Blind?* New York: American Foundation for the Blind, 1938. 214 pp.

LIGT, BARTHÉLEMY DE. *The Conquest of Violence: An Essay on*

*War and Revolution*, with an introduction by Aldous Huxley. New York: Dutton, 1938. 317 pp. Well-known pacifist social theorist outlines a "Plan of Campaign Against All War and All Preparation for War," calling upon war-resisters to refuse in time of peace to make war materials or to pay taxes for war-producing purposes. Bibliography, pp. 286-96.

NELSON, NELS ALBIN; and CRAIN, GLADYS L. *Syphilis, Gonorrhea and the Public Health*. New York: Macmillan, 1938. 359 pp.

Social diseases and the development of public educational programs, by two workers in the Massachusetts Department of Public Health. Bibliography at ends of chapters.

"Toward Unity," *Time*, August 1, 1938, p. 25.

On recent publications of the Unified Science movement, headed by Dr. Otto Neurath.

#### PART IV. THE SYMBOLS AND PRACTICES OF WHICH PROPAGANDA MAKES USE

ADAMS, HAROLD E. "Minority Caricatures on the American Stage," in *Studies in the Science of Society*, edited by George Peter Murdock (New Haven: Yale University, 1937), pp. 1-28.

Negroes and immigrants as depicted in minstrel shows, variety, vaudeville, musical comedy, and burlesque.

ANDERSON, EUGENE N. "Meinecke's *Ideengeschichte* and the Crisis in Historical Thinking," in *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1938), pp. 361-96.

BONN, MORITZ JULIUS. *The Crumbling of Empire: The Disintegra-*

*tion of World Economy*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1938. 432 pp.

Well-known German political economist, now at London School of Economics, surveys world politics and economics, especially in relation to possible reallocation of colonial areas. Bibliographic footnotes.

CLARK, HAROLD FLORIAN; and others. *Life Earnings in Selected Occupations in the United States*. New York: Harpers, 1937. 408 pp.

Income situations in the main branches of the professions, clerical occupations, skilled and unskilled labor, and farming, up to 1936. Bibliography, pp. 403-6.

EICHSTAEDT, VOLKMAR, compiler. *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Judenfrage*, vol. 1. Hamburg:

Hanseatische Verlag, 1938. 267 pp.  
First volume of a bibliography on the history of the Jewish problem. Covers contemporary literature of the period 1750-1848. Briefly annotated. Special marks indicate authors of "established or questionable Jewish descent."

FODOR, MARCEL WILLIAM. *Plot and Counter-Plot in Central Europe: Conditions South of Hitler*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1937. 317 pp.

Comprehensive study of central and southeastern European politics, including Turkey, by the Hungarian-born Vienna correspondent of *Manchester Guardian*.

GOOCH, GEORGE PEABODY. *Before the War*, vol. 2: *The Coming of the Storm*. New York: Longmans, Green, 1938. 447 pp.

First volume (1936) dealt with Lansdowne, Delcassé, von Bülow, Iswolsky, Aehrenthal; second volume with Grey, Poincaré, Bethmann-Hollweg, Sazonoff, Berchtold. The author, joint editor of British official documents on the War, has written more than a dozen books on European diplomacy. Bibliographic footnotes.

INMAN, SAMUEL GUY. *Latin America: Its Place in World Life*. Chicago: Willett, Clark, 1937. 462 pp.  
General treatise by specialist on Latin-American affairs. Contains bibliography.

IRELAND, PHILIP WILLARD. *Iraq: A Study in Political Development*. London: J. Cape, 1937. New York: Macmillan, 1938. 510 pp.

Harvard political scientist's analysis of Arab nationalism from the pre-War period to the present. Bibliography, pp. 473-97, cites sources in various Western European languages and in Arabic.

JELLINEK, FRANK. *The Civil War in Spain*. London: Gollancz, 1938. 637 pp.

By a German scholar, author of *The*

*Paris Commune of 1871* (1937). Bibliography in text.

KOTSCHNIG, WALTER MARIA. *Unemployment in the Learned Professions: An International Study of Occupational and Educational Planning*. London: Oxford University, 1937. 347 pp.

World survey of the employment conditions affecting intellectuals, begun by the International Student Service at Geneva in 1932 and completed with the assistance of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University. Bibliographic footnotes.

LEDERER, EMIL; and LEDERER-SEIDLER, EMY. *Japan in Transition*. New Haven: Yale University, 1938. 260 pp.

Economic, social, and psychological analysis of the Japanese people, by two German social scientists now in the U.S.

LIN, MOUSHENG HSITEN. "Recent Intellectual Movements in China," *China Institute Bulletin*, 3 no. 1: 3-19 (October 1938).

Chinese political scientist states the social contexts and the main issues of the literary revolution of 1917, the polemic between scientists and philosophers in 1923, the struggle of 1924 over the "modernization" of Chinese historical writing, and the debate on the materialistic interpretation of history in 1928-31.

LUNDBERG, FERDINAND. *Who Controls Industry? A Supplement to "America's 60 Families."* New York: Vanguard, 1938. 32 pp.

MACMILLAN, WILLIAM MILLER. *Africa Emergent: A Survey of Social Political, and Economic Trends in British Africa*. London: Faber, 1938. 414 pp.

By late Professor of History, University of the Witwatersrand.



- MANUEL, FRANK EDWARD. *The Politics of Modern Spain*, with a foreword by Fritz Morstein Marx. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938. 194 pp.  
Surveys Spanish development from the nineteenth century to the beginning of the Franco rebellion, with major emphasis on the problems of the Republic. Dr. Manuel is a U.S. historian of the labor movement. Bibliography at ends of chapters.
- MULLETT, CHARLES FREDERIC. *The British Empire*. New York: Holt, 1938. 768 pp.  
Social and political history, from the medieval period to the present, by a University of Missouri historian. Bibliography at ends of chapters.
- ODUM, HOWARD WASHINGTON; and MOORE, HARRY ESTILL. *American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration*. New York: Holt, 1938. 693 pp.  
Bibliography, pp. 643-75 and footnotes.
- RANULF, SVEND. *Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology: A Sociological Study*. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938. 205 pp.  
The phenomena of moral indignation and the "disinterested tendency to inflict punishment" are examined as they have appeared among the Nazis, the Protestants, the Puritans, the Aristocrats, the Catholics, the Teutons, the Hindus, the Chinese, the Israelites, the Bolsheviks, and certain primitive peoples. These attitudes are found to be "a distinctive characteristic of the lower middle class," arising from "a feeling of fear and weakness such as is inseparable from the forced self-control of the small bourgeoisie." Bibliographic footnotes.
- REINHARDT, JAMES MELVIN. *Social Psychology: An Introduction to the Study of Personality and the Environment*. (Lippincott Sociology Texts). Chicago: Lippincott, 1938. 467 pp.  
By Professor of Sociology, University of Nebraska. Bibliography at ends of chapters.
- ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. *The British Empire: A Report on Its Structure and Problems, by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*. London and New York: Oxford University, 1937. 336 pp.  
Bibliographic footnotes.
- ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. *The Colonial Problem: A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*. New York and London: Oxford University, 1937. 448 pp.  
Bibliographic footnotes.
- SEEBER, EDWARD DERBYSHIRE. *Anti-Slavery Opinion in France During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, extra volume no. 10). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1937. 238 pp.  
Bibliography, pp. 201-29.
- TANSILL, CHARLES CALLAN. *America Goes to War*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1938. 731 pp.  
Motives of America's entrance into the World War are reexamined by U.S. historian in the light of a considerable amount of new source material, including some of the J. P. Morgan files collected by the Nye Committee. Bibliography, pp. 664-79.

## PART V. CHANNELS OF PROPAGANDA

### Agents Who Specialize in Managing Propaganda

ANTONGINI, TOMMASO. *D'Annunzio*.

Boston: Little, Brown, 1938.

583 pp.

The author of this biography was d'Annunzio's private secretary from 1908 onward. Students of the type of personality which is capable of developing great skill in political agitation will find many unvarnished data here. Arthur Livingston, well-known American Italianist, places d'Annunzio in social perspective in a review of this book, *New York Times Book Review*, June 12, 1938, pp. 1 ff.

CARR, EDWARD HALLETT. *Michael Bakunin*. New York and London:

Macmillan, 1937. 501 pp.

By Professor of International Politics, University College of Wales, a specialist in Russian revolutionary history. Bibliography, pp. 489-91.

FROEMGEN, HANNS. *Kemal Atatürk:*

*A Biography*, translated from the German by Kenneth Kirkness. London: Jarrolds. 285 pp.

A partly fictionalized biography.

HEUSS, THEODOR. *Friedrich Nau-*

*mann: Der Mann, Das Werk, Die Zeit*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1937. 751 pp.

Biography of an influential "progressive nationalist" social theorist, 1860-1919; author of *Mittleuropa*, a volume pleading for cooperation of all countries in Central Europe under German economic leadership. Dr. Heuss, also a political theorist, was a close friend and collaborator of Naumann's for many years.

HOBSON, JOHN ATKINSON. *Confes-*

*sions of an Economic Heretic*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1938. New York: Macmillan, 1938. 217 pp.

Autobiography of well-known British economist.

HOLLIS, CHRISTOPHER. *Lenin* (Science and Culture series). Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938. 277 pp.

A Catholic's interpretation of the life of Lenin. Bibliography at ends of chapters.

HUNT, FRAZIER. *One American and His Attempt at Education*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1937. 400 pp.

Reminiscences of U.S. foreign correspondent.

JONES, JACK. *Unfinished Journey*, with a preface by David Lloyd George. London: Hamilton, 1937. New York: Oxford University, 1937. 303 pp.

Autobiography of a Welsh coal miner who became a professional politician and served at one time or another in the Socialist, Communist, Lloyd George, Mosley, and finally Baldwin, movements. Reveals with candor the motives of the politician of working-class origin in England at the present stage.

KNIGHT, MARY. *On My Own*. New York: Macmillan, 1938. 374 pp.

Autobiography of a young United Press feature writer.

LEWINSOHN, RICHARD. *Barney Barnato: From Whitechapel Clown to Diamond King*. New York: Dutton, 1938. 275 pp.

Biography of an English promoter and financier, by a well-known historian of finance. Bibliography, pp. 269-71.

McKENZIE, VERNON. *Through Turbulent Years*. New York: McBride, 1938. 304 pp.

Reminiscences of a journalist and political writer, now Director of the School of Journalism, University of Washington.

MARCOSSON, ISAAC FREDERICK. *Turbulent Years*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1938. 497 pp.

NOYES, ALEXANDER DANA. *The Market Place: Reminiscences of a Financial Editor*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1938. 384 pp.

By financial editor of the *New York Times*. Based on some fifty years of day-to-day handling of financial news.

OMURA, BUNJI. *The Last Genro: Prince Saionji, the Man Who Westernized Japan*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938. 442 pp.

Life of Prince Saionji, 87 years old in 1937, and the last of the group of Japanese elder statesmen known as the Genro.

PADOVER, SAUL K. "Kautsky and the Materialist Interpretation of History," in *Medieval and Historical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1938, pp. 439-64.

The bibliography of this exhaustively documented biographical sketch might well serve most investigators as an authoritative guide to the literature of the principal Marxian controversies.

WILLIAMS, WYTHE. "This Man Leads Small Business," *Commentator*, 3 no. 5: 3-7 (June 1938). On Dewitt M. Emery of Akron, Ohio; chairman of National Small Business Men's Association.

#### Agencies Used in Disseminating Propaganda

*American Foundations for Social Welfare*, revised edition. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1938. 66 pp.

BELGION, MONTGOMERY. "Publicity by Stealth," *Fortnightly*, 149 (n.s. 143): 325-31 (March 1938).

Stimulated by BBC's development of broadcasts in Arabic, Portuguese, and Spanish, this writer reviews the extent of publicity, advertising, and public relations activity in England.

COULBOURN, JOHN. *Selection of Teachers in Large City School Systems* (Teachers College Contributions to Education, no. 740). New York: Columbia University, 1938. 177 pp.

"Endeavors to present a comprehensive survey of practices in the largest [U.S.] cities in the field of teacher selection, project these practices in the light of basic criteria, and recommend standards." Bibliography, pp. 175-7.

EZICKSON, AARON J. *Get That Picture! The Story of the News Cameraman*. New York: National Library Press, 1938. 200 pp.

Graphic description of the life of a newspaper man, with technical details about his craft, by a staff member of Wide World Photos.

GABEL, RICHARD J. *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1937. 858 pp. History of public aid for church and private schools from Colonial times to the present, with arguments favoring such aid.

GORDON, LINCOLN. *The Public Corporation in Great Britain*. New York: Oxford University, 1938. 351 pp.

Port of London Authority, Central Electricity Board, British Broadcasting Corporation, London Passenger Transport Board; based on three years' study in England by Harvard instructor in government.

HAYGOOD, WILLIAM CONVERSE. *Who Uses the Public Library?: A Survey of the Patrons of the Circulation and Reference Departments*

- of the *New York Public Library*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1938. 137 pp.  
Bibliography, pp. 128-9.
- HETTINGER, HERMAN STRECKER; and NEFF, WALTER J. *Practical Radio Advertising*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1938. 372 pp.  
Outlines the successive stages in the execution of a radio program and a campaign. Contains tabulated data on the mechanics of broadcasting, on geographical distribution of set owners, on volume of broadcast advertising matter by classes, and on network structure and rates. Dr. Hettinger, now assistant professor of marketing, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, was for several years director of research for National Association of Broadcasters. Mr. Neff, president of the Neff-Rogow Agency, was formerly sales manager of Station WOR, Newark.
- HOLLIS, ERNEST VICTOR. *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education: The Rôle of the Philanthropic Foundation in the History of American Higher Education* (Ph.D. thesis, Teachers College). New York: Columbia University, 1938. 409 pp., typewritten. Bibliography, pp. 400-9.
- INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS. *Special Letters on the Channels of Communication*. May 16, 1938  
Commentary on current events affecting the channels of communication. Supplementary to the Institute's monthly letter, *Propaganda Analysis*.
- ISTITUTO NAZIONALE LUCE. *Catalogo generale dei soggetti cinematografici*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1937. 421 pp.  
Catalog of all cinema subjects which the Italian National Cinema Institute has produced or released in Italy under the Fascist régime. Indexed and extensively annotated.
- JOHNSON, ALVIN SAUNDERS. *The Public Library: A People's University*. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1938. 85 pp.  
General essay on U.S. libraries in terms of their possible functions in the diffusion of democratic practices; by Director of the New School for Social Research.
- JOURNALISM. For detailed bibliography on journalism, see the extensive lists in *Journalism Quarterly*.
- KING, CLARENCE. *Social Agency Boards and How to Make Them Effective*. New York: Harpers, 1938. 103 pp.  
By New York School of Social Work professor who has had extensive experience with boards. Bibliography, pp. 89-97.
- LEE, ALFRED MCCLUNG. "Freedom of the Press: Services of a Catch Phrase," in *Studies in the Science of Society*, edited by George Peter Murdock. New Haven: Yale University, 1937. pp. 355-75.  
". . . a survey of the general status of the catch phrase during the last decades of the eighteenth century, of the major changes that have swept the industry during the succeeding century and a half, and of the present services of the slogan. . . ." The author is a University of Kansas specialist in the sociology of journalism.
- LOWNDES, GEORGE ALFRED NORMAN. *The Silent Social Revolution: An Account of the Expansion of Public Education in England and Wales, 1895-1935*. New York: Oxford University, 1937.  
Bibliography, pp. 249-60.
- LUND, RAGNAR. "Adult Education in Sweden," *Annals of the American*

- Academy of Political and Social Science*, 197: 232-42 (May 1938).
- MACLATCHY, JOSEPHINE HARRIET, editor. *Education on the Air, 1937*. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1937. 373 pp.  
Eighteenth yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio. Includes a "Bibliography of Radio Education, July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937," pp. 345-50; and a bibliography on "Eye versus Ear," pp. 350-5.
- MARTEL, JAMES K. "Washington Press Conference," *American Mercury*, 43: 197-205 (February 1938).  
A former Washington correspondent sardonically describes press conferences of New Deal cabinet officers.
- METCALFE, LYNE SHACKLEFORD; and CHRISTENSEN, HAROLD GLOY. *How to Use Talking Pictures in Business*, with a foreword by Roy S. Durstine. New York: Harpers, 1938. 246 pp.
- MILLARD, OSCAR E. *Uncensored! The True Story of the Clandestine Newspaper La libre Belgique Published in Brussels During the German Occupation*. London: Hale, 1937. 287 pp.
- MOLEY, RAYMOND. *Are We Movie Mad?* New York: Vanguard, 1938. 64 pp.  
Surveying the literature, Dr. Moley finds that efforts to prove a direct connection between movies and delinquency have been highly inconclusive.
- MUNTZ, EARL EDWARD. *Urban Sociology*. New York: Macmillan, 1938. 742 pp.  
Treatise by New York University professor. Part IV, "Education in the Modern City," contains sections on general, adult, vocational, and "informal" education, and on "The Educational Influence of the Newspaper." Chapter 31 is on "The Theater and the Movies." Bibliography at ends of chapters.
- NAFZIGER, RALPH O. *Foreign News Sources and the Foreign Press: A Bibliography*. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1937. 124 pp.  
"Represents an attempt to bring together some of the titles of books, pamphlets, and magazine articles which deal with the broad subject of world-wide news-gathering and the foreign press. No attempt has been made to assemble titles which are not likely to be found in American libraries, nor has an effort been made to include citations in such bibliographies as Lasswell, Casey and Smith's *Propaganda and Promotional Activities*, Karl Bömer's *Handbuch der Weltpresse*, and Rudolf Löwenthal's *Western Literature on Chinese Journalism*." Not annotated.
- "Ninth Inning Rally," *Time*, April 4, 1938, pp. 10-11.  
How one speech by the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin apparently evoked more than 100,000 telegrams urging Senators to oppose the Reorganization Bill. This almost repeated the feat of 1935 when, after a speech by Coughlin, over 200,000 persons wired Congress about their opposition to the World Court. Unmentioned in this article is the additional publicity given Father Coughlin's addresses by front-page spreads in the Hearst press.
- NOTCUTT, L. A.; and LATHAM, G. C., editors. *The African and the Cinema: An Account of the Work of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment During the Period, March 1935 to May 1937*. London: Edinburgh House, 1937. 256 pp.  
The Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment, financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and by the govern-



ments of Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda, produced a number of films employing natives as actors, for the purpose of making clear to illiterate African tribesmen the problems confronting them as a result of the diffusion of western culture.

O'BRIEN, TERENCE HENRY. *British Experiments in Public Ownership and Control*. New York: Norton, 1938. 304 pp.

Detailed study of Central Electricity Board, British Broadcasting Corporation, and London Passenger Transport Board, all of which are semi-independent public businesses. Contains material on controversial political broadcasts and on the social composition of the governors of B.B.C.

*Public Affairs Pamphlets: Index to Inexpensive Pamphlets on Social, Economic, Political, and International Affairs*, supplement (U.S. Office of Education Bulletin 1937, no. 3 supplement). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938. 67 pp.

SIZER, L. B. "Planning and Promoting Movies for Sales," *Industrial Marketing*, 22 no. 12: 15-16 (November 1937).

See also "Conference Clinic" on motion pictures, same issue, p. 33.

STUDEBAKER, JOHN WARD; and others. *Forums for Young People* (U.S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, no. 25). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938. 113 pp.

A bulletin prepared for teachers and administrators in high schools and colleges; deals with forums for youth in secondary schools and colleges, and on an all-community basis.

TORRES, TEODORO. *Periodismo*. Mexico City: Botas, 1937. 272 pp.

History of Mexican journalism from 1828 to the present by a prominent Mexican editor. Contains a 62-page bibliography of newspapers founded in Mexico, 1830-1934.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS. *Political Science: Documents and Debates Relating to Government, Lobbying, Courts, Liquors, Political Parties, District of Columbia* (Price list 54, 23rd edition). Washington, D.C., January 1938. 52 pp.

List of documents for sale by Superintendent of Documents.

U. S. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. *Television: A Selected List of Recent Writings* (Select list of references, no. 1414). Washington, D.C., March 21, 1938.

U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. Series of 8 bulletins dealing with public forums. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935-37.

(1) *Choosing Our Way* (Bulletin 1937, Misc. No. 1) surveys programs of the 19 U.S. demonstration centers and 431 other forums in the U.S., outlining their history, management, promotion, and financing. (2) *Forums for Young People* (Bulletin 1937, No. 25) analyzes programs for high-school and out-of-school youth. (3) *Printed Page and the Public Platform* (Bulletin 1937, No. 27) discusses library service in connection with forums, quoting opinions expressed by 400 forum leaders and administrators. (4) *Safeguarding Democracy through Adult Civic Education* (Bulletin 1936, No. 6) evaluates the philosophy of adult education. (5) *Education for Democracy* (Bulletin 1935, No. 17) is a handbook for leaders, devoted mainly to techniques and methods. Contains bibliography. (6) *A Step Forward for Adult Civic Education* (Bulletin 1936, No. 16) is the story



of the first ten demonstration centers conducted by the Office of Education. (7) and (8) *Public Affairs Pamphlets* (Bulletin 1937, No. 3, and Supplement thereto) provide an annotated bibliography of many hundreds of inexpensive pamphlets dealing with forums and with issues frequently raised in forums.

U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. *To Promote the Cause of Education* (Bulletin, 1938, Misc. No. 2). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938. 80 pp.

Pictures and charts dealing comprehensively with the objectives, methods, and services of the U.S. Office of Education. Published originally as February 1938 issue of *School Life*, the Office's official organ.

WADE, IRA OWEN. *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*. Princeton and London: Princeton University, 1938. 329 pp.

"From 1700 to 1750 there was a sustained philosophic activity conducted in a secret but very effective fashion. . . . The ultimate aim of the writers was the establishment of the rights of free-thinking and free living." By Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Princeton. Bibliography, pp. 323-9.

"War and Art," *Time*, 31: 48-9 (February 28, 1938).

Article on Leftist and Rightist propagan-

da art in the current Spanish civil war. Reproductions of seven posters in color.

WILSON, LOUIS ROUND. *The Geography of Reading: A Study of the Distribution and Status of Libraries in the United States*. Chicago: American Library Association and University of Chicago Press, 1938. 481 pp.

Traces the sociology of reading, not only in libraries but in connection with other channels of communication, such as magazines, newspapers, schools, and adult educational facilities. Contains 117 tables, 173 charts. The author is Dean of the Graduate Library School, University of Chicago. Bibliography, pp. 445-62.

WILSON, LOUIS ROUND, editor. *Library Trends* (Papers presented before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago, August 3-15, 1936). Chicago: University of Chicago, 1937. 388 pp.

Papers by social scientists, librarians, and others on recent social trends and their implications for libraries.

WILSON, LOUIS ROUND, editor. *The Role of the Library in Adult Education* (Papers presented before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago, August 2-13, 1937). Chicago: University of Chicago, 1937. 321 pp.

three years since its establishment, and invites readers to submit questions on which they would like to know the public's attitudes.

The *Thirteenth Survey*, July 1938, deals with: (1) Attitudes toward Franklin D. Roosevelt, and toward "his personal-

## PART VI. MEASURING THE EFFECTS OF PROPAGANDA

"Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, July 1935—

With the October 1938 issue, the *Fortune Survey*, formerly the *Fortune Quarterly Survey*, becomes a regular monthly feature. An announcement in *Fortune*, October 1938, p. 39, briefly summarizes the operations of the Survey in the

ity," "his rearmament policy," "his international policy," "his wages and hours legislation," "his economic objectives," "his attitude toward unions," "his attitude toward business," "his attitude toward TVA," "his methods," "his advisors and associates," "his Reorganization Bill" (these items are analyzed by geographic divisions, economic levels, and occupations); (2) Do you think President Roosevelt has concentrated too much power in his own hands? (3) Would you like to see the next Congress work more closely with Roosevelt? Or assert its independence of him? (4) More governmental power to the states or to the federal government? (5) Estimate of general economic prospects and of economic security; (6) Would it improve the general situation if labor accepted a wage cut? (7) Should the government take over the railroads? (8) Which of the recent foreign military aggressions disturbed you most? Would you favor allowing political refugees to come into the U.S.?

The *Fourteenth Survey*, August 1938, deals with: (1) Third parties in the 1940 Presidential campaign; (2) Party alignment 10 years from now; (3) More religion or more economic security?; (4) Abuse of power by bankers, press, radio, pulpit, veterans; (5) Just and unjust taxes; (6) "Which of these four industries has gone ahead the fastest in giving the public what it wants: automobiles? air transport? radio broadcasting? motion pictures?; (7) Tipping waiters, porters, etc.; (8) Favorite cigarettes; (9) Air conditioning.

The *Fifteenth Survey*, October 1938, deals with: (1) Attitudes toward Franklin D. Roosevelt; (2) the President's advisors, associates, and cabinet members; (3) recently deceased U.S. statesmen; (4) the LaFollette Progressive movement; (5) James Roosevelt; (6) the Administration's lending-spending program.

The *Sixteenth Survey*, November 1938, deals with: (1) The President's pro-

posal of a disregard of party lines by all liberal voters; (2) Definition of a liberal, a radical, a conservative, and a reactionary as shown by labels given to various public personages and social programs; (3) Corporate bigness and the profit motive; (4) The Senate and how it should vote; (5) Anti-Semitism; (6) World's Fairs.

LASSWELL, HAROLD DWIGHT. "A Provisional Classification of Symbol Data," *Psychiatry*, 1: 197-204 (May 1938).

A suggested system of precise categories for the description and comparison of symbols. "Although the present discussion is conducted with reference to the psychoanalytic interview situation, the categories which are proposed are often directly transferable to many other symbolic situations in society."

LEARNED, WILLIAM SETCHEL; and WOOD, BEN D. *The Student and*

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*His Knowledge*. New York: Carnegie Foundation, 1938. 69 pp.

Summarizes the results and conclusions drawn from a ten-year study of the relations of higher and secondary education in Pennsylvania. 55,000 individuals were tested by means of an "objective-type inventory of the baccalaureate mind."

MENEFEE, SELDEN COWLES. "Teaching Sociology and Student Attitudes," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22: 545-56 (July 1938).

Response of college classes in sociology to 40 opinion statements, administered in the fall of 1936 and again in the winter, to test consistency of attitudes on issues directly related to the subject-matter of the course.

MEYERING, HARRY R. "The Turkish Stereotype," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22: 112-23 (November 1937).

Professor in Teachers College of Kansas City, Mo., analyzes the words which 100 university students associated with "The Turk Today," and comments upon the sources from which students claimed to have derived their opinions about the Turk.

MURPHY, GARDNER; and LIKERT, RENSIS. *Public Opinion and the Individual: A Psychological Study of Student Attitudes on Public Questions, with a Retest Five Years Later*. New York and London: Harpers, 1938. 316 pp.

Having correlated attitudes with many other personal characteristics over a period of several years, these psychologists at Columbia University conclude that, "Most of the more easily described objective factors commonly quoted as causes of radical or conservative tendencies did not seem to be very important, while certain very personal factors, such as the personalities of the

parents and the individual student's reading habits, seemed to be important. . . .

Despite the quantitative emphasis of the study as a whole, quantitative methods were not ready when it became apparent to us that the most important variables to be followed up were of this rather intangible or personal sort. . . . It is believed that the next steps in attitude research may well be taken in the direction of gathering better diary, interview, and other biographical material, developing safeguards against error, and methods of formulating more penetrating and revealing questions. . . .

The cooperation of sociologists, child psychologists, psychiatrists, and historians will be needed in the development of a technique really adequate for the study of the genesis of personal attitudes on public issues" (pp. 263-4). Bibliography, pp. 309-10.

NEWSTETTER, WILBER IRVIN; FELDSTEIN, MARC J.; and NEWCOMB, THEODORE M. *Group Adjustment: A Study in Experimental Sociology*. Cleveland: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1938. 154 pp.

Attraction and repulsion patterns in a boys' camp were studied from 1926 to 1933. Similar studies were made in two U.S. colleges. Data were secured through observation and interview, followed by statistical analysis. Bibliographic footnotes.

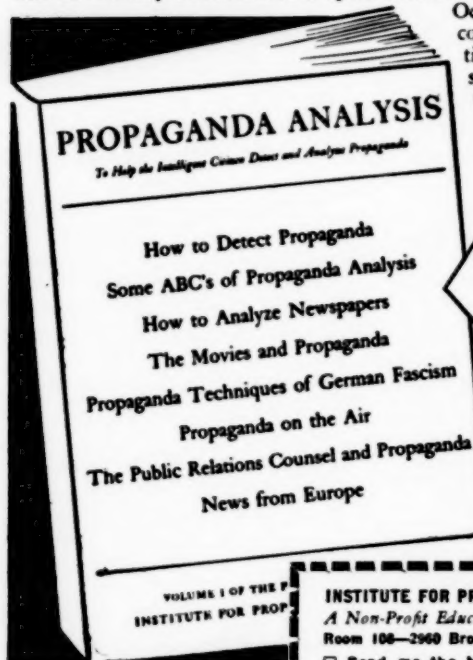
OBDRLÍK, ANTONÍN. *Povolání a Veřejné Blaho*. Prague: Orbis, 1937. 263 pp.

"Occupations and Public Welfare." Sociologist at Masaryk University summarizes replies to 900 questionnaires on attitudes of Czech citizens toward various occupations, and formulates reasons for the preferences expressed. *Most deference* went to: peasants, teachers, workers, artisans, physicians. *Medium deference* went to: engineers, merchants, industrialists. "Negative deference" went

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PORTERFIELD, AUSTIN L. "Opinions About War," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22: 252-64 (January 1938).

708 college and high school students and teachers replied to a questionnaire on "justifications" for war.

THOMAS, M. E. "An Enquiry into the Relative Efficacy of Broadcast and Classroom Lessons," *Educational Research Series*, no. 48. pp. 1-48 (Melbourne, 1937).

## PART VII. PROPAGANDA AND CENSORSHIP IN MODERN SOCIETY

BEYLE, HERMAN CAREY; and PAR-RATT, SPENCER D. "Public Attitudes and Government Efficiency," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 199: 26-32 (September 1938).

Two political scientists consider, in a general way, several possible ways of measuring attitudes toward particular administrators and particular administrative practices.

MILLER, JAMES W. "Youth in the Dictatorships," *American Political Science Review*, 32: 965-71 (October 1938).

First-hand observations on current civic training in Germany, Italy, and U.S.S.R.

"Plastic Minds," *Time*, April 4, 1938, p. 51.

Abstracts article on "Propaganda in the Schools" by Herman H. Remmers in *PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY*, April 1938.

ROBB, ARTHUR. "Shop Talk at Thirty," *Editor and Publisher*, October 9, 1937, p. 52.

*Editor and Publisher* editorialist evaluates prospectus of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. "If any group in this country can tackle the job with some assurance of success, these are the men. The service they propose is needed, both for the makers and the readers of the press." Article also contains references to propaganda surrounding a number of current public issues.

ROSENBERG, ALFRED. *Der Kampf um die Freiheit der Forschung*. (Schriften der Hallischen wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft, vol. 1.) Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1938. 21 pp.

According to this Nazi spokesman, National Socialism guarantees unlimited freedom of research in all the natural sciences, but maintains that its views, especially its views on race, must be adopted in the sciences in which man is either subject or object.

SARGENT, PORTER. *Human Affairs*, 1938. Boston: The Author, 1938. 220 pp.

A book of essays by the author of the annual *Handbook of Private Schools* in the U.S. "Reviews, with special reference to the English speaking people, the educational and intellectual status of the world. . . ."—Title page.

SCHROEDER, THEODORE ALBERT. *A Challenge to Sex Censors*. New York: The Author, 1938. 159 pp.

WILSON, LOGAN. "Public Opinion and the Individualized Treatment of Criminals," *Journal of Criminal Law*, 28: 674-83 (January 1938).

YOUNG, EUGENE JARED. *Looking Behind the Censorships*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938. 368 pp. Cable editor of *New York Times* describes the censorship of foreign news.